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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1843

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CURRENT SITUATION IN POLAND, IMPACT ON EASTERN EUROPE ANALYZED

Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Oct 80 pp 79-93

[Article by Andre Brigot: "Poland: Breakthrough or Impasse?"]

[Text] Beyond the reactions to the Polish problem, which swing between hope of freedom and fear of upsetting the established order, Andre Brigot, a lecturer at CEPODE*, on his return from Poland attempts to strip down the mechanisms determining the potential developments in a situation that can only be compared to the precedents of Czechoslovakia or Hungary.

The USSR, undoubtedly aware that tanks would resolve nothing, appears to be hesitating over what course to follow, having failed thus far to take the whole measure of the political and social consequences of economic failure.

In Poland they have gone from sporadic strike movements, apparently linked to the rise of certain prices, to a social upheaval whose magnitude and consequences cannot yet be imagined today.

Consequences for the internal organization of the government in Poland, but also for political and military balances that are crucial for all of Europe. Of course one can discuss interminably the sequence of events in Poland and the reactions carefully distilled day after day by PRAVDA, or prophesy in various directions.

But first it is important to outline several main themes underlying the changes that are still being talked about.

Facing the Facts of the Crisis

The ambiguity of the interpretations furnished by the various parties is largely explained by the discrepancy existing between the overall reality of the event (a profound social and political crisis) and what it is possible and prudent to speak of (economic and professional demands).

Let us sum up the principal troubles of the Polish economy.

The most visible economic angle is without a doubt the hugeness of the foreign debt. After the fall of Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had frozen investment by practising a kind

*CEPODE: Center for Political Defense Studies, University of Paris I. Director: Pierre Dabezies; secretary general: Jean Paucot. Assistants: Jean-Francois Bureau, Dominique David.

of peasant economy of accumulation of reserves, Edward Gierek in the course of the two plans of 1971-1975 and 1976-1980 launched a wave of productive industrial investment that in theory was not supposed to damage the progress of domestic consumption.

But those investments, financed by foreign loans, were chiefly brought about through the purchase of Western materials. The increased prices of such materials caused a perpetual overspending above the estimates and hence an "importation" of our inflation. The consequences of the rise in the cost of raw materials in the world, especially of energy (the USSR is known to be supplying its Eastern European partners with oil at nearly the world market price), and the difficulties occasioned by Polish exports being poorly adapted to the demand despite their advantageous price (very low wage costs), caused the gamble on opening up trade to be lost.

The object of the loans was also to satisfy labor's demands in the 1970's for consumer goods, but national production of food products remains inadequate. As for the investments, their profitability and sometimes even their usefulness are arguable. Huge developments, such as the Katowice steel complex, have been criticized to no avail since their conception, even by the Soviets. To which must be added the waste, the many examples of misappropriation or the seeking of a personal and quick profit on the part of highly-placed leaders who know that the wind changes quickly. In Poland one is never kept from lining up precise examples (even less so today), as it is true that in the East one may criticize all the facts, but independently of each other, as long as one refrains from emphasizing that together they constitute a characteristic of the system.

In an attempt to reduce imports and the debt, the Polish leaders since 1976 have continually encouraged exportation: favors granted to exporting firms, demands in bilateral relations with the West for trade facilities, etc. In the context of a domestic market, in which the demand is far from being satisfied, these watchwords in Poland look at best like a necessary evil, when they do not trigger a frank opposition; for example, the metallurgists of Silesia can be cited, who recently welded to the rails the freight cars destined for the USSR.

Agriculture is added to the debt problem. In this regard Poland's situation is completely different from that of the other Eastern countries. In fact, over 75 percent of the cultivated land belongs to private farmers, who account for nearly 80 percent of the agricultural production. These small peasants achieve that production with much less material means and fertilizer than the government-owned enterprises and the cooperatives. Having access to the free or unofficial market, they accumulate capital to their profit, using it to improve their living conditions. The Polish countryside offers many examples of those traditional wooden houses, behind which rise recent brick houses, often unfinished but certainly more spacious and modern than the ancestral dwelling.

Moreover, this "free" development of the agricultural sector had not been called into question by the USSR, even in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA], whose representatives had defended this Polish way of transforming agriculture against the criticism by other brother countries (the GDR, Czechoslovakia). The USSR itself may have inspired this criticism without wanting to take the responsibility for it. Be that as it may, a strategy of slow socialization was involved, depending on a life annuity mechanism granted to elderly peasants whose children were affected by the rural exodus due to Edward Gierek's accelerated industrialization. The lands were then seized by the state and assigned, preferably to the state-owned

agricultural enterprises. All conflict with the peasants was avoided; they were supported by the Church and ready to respond to any frontal attack by the immediate slaughter of the privately-owned cattle. Two-thirds of the value of the agricultural market production was supplied by livestock raising in 1977. Such a slaughter would be catastrophic for an urban market that was under-supplied with meat.

Therefore the only thing left for the leaders to do was to try to impose a price rise on consumption. A delicate prospect: in the past, every attempt (1956, 1970, 1976) had been followed by troubles and the departure of the highest-level leaders. Again this time the tactic of increases spread out over time and diversified as to regions and products, misfired. Polish workers obviously do not accept a lowering of their standard of living*.

Of course this does not mean that the crisis that exploded in August is just an economic one. It is well known that, although the price rises were deferred, the Gdansk strikers finally signed an agreement assuring them of a salary increase lower than the one proposed in the beginning, but compensated for in their eyes by other social clauses, infinitely more important for the future. The regime's inability to rectify the economic situation leads to this obvious fact: it is with regard to the system itself, the management of businesses, the waste and the various unproductive misappropriations that intervention must take place. But this would surely mean to affect the bureaucracy, the drawing up and operation of the planning system itself, in short to set up a control that would shake the foundation of the regime. A proposal envisaged with apprehension by the beneficiaries of the system, but also be the large majority of Poles, who believe such a challenge to be suicidal.

Disillusionment with "Real Socialism"

Thirty-five postwar years, 35 years of socialism, this is enough to form a generation. In the second most heavily populated Eastern country, after the USSR, half of whose population is under 30, at least two political generations coexist.

The first is made up of men and women who lived through and worked for the country's socialistic rebuilding. Often, in the beginning, sincerely supportive of the new leaders, today they have in their ranks a huge proportion of disillusioned, disaffected and cynical people.

In November 1978, in a "Report on the State of the Republic and the Paths Leading to its Stabilization," the group of opponents meeting under the name of Experience and Future [DIP] wrote:

"Our fellow countrymen, several times disappointed in their hope, today cling to the bitter conviction that a radical change in the operation of the sociopolitical system is absolutely necessary, and at the same time totally impossible. Acceptance of that state of affairs leads to extreme attitudes, beginning with conformity and the defense of the status quo, proceeding by way of the different forms of flight in the

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*Here Poland is clearly differentiated from Hungary, where the violence of the repression by Kadar, which immediately followed the movements of 1956 (2,000 to 3,000 executions, tens of thousands of imprisonments and ten times more internments than in Poland) made it possible to eliminate all opposition, to enforce an austerity policy for several years and then relax the reins. See "Kadarism" by Ferenc Feher, Paris, Payot, Book No 7.

*See "The Crisis in the Polish Economy," CORRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, Paris 1980, and on foreign trade, PERSPECTIVES POLONAISES, No 4 and No 5, Warsaw 1980.

private domain to revolt that is muted but filled with hatred. Skepticism, indifference, the decline of a constructive social thinking--these are the consequences"*.

The visible forms of this disillusionment extend from alcoholism to the many jokes and stories that have free rein in Poland, stemming from the incredulity concerning /any/ [in italics] official information--incredulity that is more obvious in a country where repression has never reached the level experienced in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and where there has always existed a certain freedom of expression. Certainly this generation is fully aware of what is tolerable in Poland, of the domestic and international limits of any movement, and at the same time it has had much experience with the mechanisms of recovery or seizure of the concessions of the government.

But another generation is appearing, made up of all those who were born and have grown up under this regime. A generation that is still profoundly nationalistic, but the incessant reminder by the government of the destruction and wounds left by Nazism, the magnitude of which is known to each of them, does not, to this new generation, excuse the inadequacies of 35 years of socialism. Moreover, its anti-German feeling undoubtedly causes it to be more opposed to the GDR, the leaders' favored partner, than to the FRG, whose prestige is certain and the consistency of whose foreign policy toward the East and against Moscow is appreciated.

Poland is very open to the foreigner. The number of emigres of Polish origin may be estimated at nearly 10,000,000. The taste for European culture--and, today, North American culture--makes Poland a country shot through with profound Western influences. Every year hundreds of thousands of Poles obtain a passport to go abroad, and many emigres come to visit their families, despite material difficulties and currency regulation. The influence of the West is manifested in many areas: the practical knowledge of the operation of cultural exchange associations, etc. And in several fields, theatrical, cinematographic, musical, Poles are today among the most important in the world. It was in maintaining its culture and causing it to flourish that Poland protected its identity during the periods of foreign occupation. The national sentiment is thus organized around an incontestable modernity, while remaining intimately bound to the idea of resistance, cultural resistance in particular.

One is less astonished at the sudden appearance of labor union leaders who were totally unknown several months ago, like the unarguable present leader of the Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS] in Gdansk, Lech Walesa, when one understands to what extent the great strength and potentialities of this country could be held in check until recent times.

The Church and the Intellectuals

It is easy to evoke the extraordinary presence of the [Catholic] Church in the Polish society, the 80 percent who are regular churchgoers, the too-small congregations every Sunday and finally the apotheosis of the election of John Paul II. It is perhaps more interesting, in the light of recent events, to emphasize the new recognition of the ecclesiastical apparatus as an element of anti-totalitarian resistance by lay intellectuals, by a long-silent liberal left or one that has been an accomplice in the attacks brought by the government against the Church.

*See L'ALTERNATIVE, No 2, Paris 1980.

Cultural identity, for the overwhelming majority of the population, stems from Catholicism, from the recently urbanized peasants, finding in the churches the only place where continuity--a cultural past--is affirmed, to the priests hearing confession in Gdansk in the occupied shipyards. Although intellectual production has not, in Poland any more than anywhere else, reconciled the articulation of the Christian message with the different characteristics of the 20th century, there prevails in the Polish churches a modernity that is attached both to the faithful, representatives of the population though it is impossible to detect the preponderance of any one age group or sex, and to the buildings themselves, which are often recently rebuilt and more engaging than the debatable architectural accomplishments of socialism.

The long resistance of the ecclesiastical apparatus, under the leadership of its head, the primate, Cardinal Wyszynski, has made the Church the principal structured opposition space, its efforts converging for the last ten years with those of lay personages and intellectuals. For the latter, who have not come together on explicitly lay positions, it has not been a matter of appreciating the validity of the religious message dispenses by the Church, but of recognizing that through vigorous and undoubtedly victorious defense of sometimes special interests, a requirement of freedom was being expressed. For a number of Christians:

"The problem is not that a fully mature world is threatening the Church, but that the most precious values of the world's maturity are--along with the Church--in mortal danger, and that the men who are defending them are at the same time defending the most fundamental values of Christianity*."

Thus, many of those who in the postwar period were shown to be not very sensitive to the attacks against the Church, but who themselves gradually became excluded, the revisionists--that is to say, the unorthodox of all tendencies--, the intellectuals critical of the regime, the antinationals of the 1968 anti-Semite campaigns, are to be found side by side, first because of personal ties and then in similar poorly-structured movements of reflection that are rapidly being dissolved or prosecuted by the regime: workers' commissions, the flying university, etc.

Let us not picture the Polish opposition as a vast movement structured in Western fashion, capable of offering an organized alternative to the regime, or even desiring one. Such talk would invite criticism from the official critics who seek--in vain thus far--to drive out an enemy of the regime, organized and paid by the clearly exposable /foreigner/ [in italics]. (Alas! There are not even any more Jews to accuse, they were chased out ten years ago).

The history of the "Znak" movement-publication is an example. Bringing together Catholic intellectuals, it publishes a weekly in Krakow, the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. Its circulation is limited by the regime to 40,000 copies; but those in charge assure us that it is capable of reaching 200,000 copies with no difficulty. It is a journal quite similar to the monthly ESPRIT that existed in France until 1970. ZNAK brings together Catholic intellectual circles in all of the large cities, including, in Warsaw, the one centered around the journal WIEZ (THE LINK). This network is a genuine force. Thus it was able to obtain, despite the constitutional limitations on eligibility, between five and 15 deputies in the Sejm [Parliament] (there are 450) and, moreover, to declare itself against the "religious-official" publications and propaganda group, Pax (somewhat comparable to the various versions of the

*Quoted by Adam Michnik, in "The Church and the Left, the Polish Dialog." Seuil.

Peace Movement of the 1950's), as a space for freedom of speech and incontrovertible resistance.

Also, the regime, after several resounding speeches by members of Znak in the Sejm (against the anti-Semite campaigns in 1968 and the constitutional change in 1975), sought to limit its audience. The opportunity arose in 1975, when the majority of the group declared itself against the new constitution, strengthening the workers' party's control over candidacies. Several members of Znak approved the text, representing less than 5 percent of the movement. But according to a thoroughly broken-in political mechanism, they were actively supported by the official apparatus, and today constitute a Neo-Znak group in the Sejm, the "true Znaks" not even running for election any more.

Such examples are significant. They explain why the representative institutions are being hit with total discredit. In a case of serious crisis, the normal political mechanisms, which exist in a totally formal way, are incapable of functioning and carrying out their official role. This analysis could perfectly apply to the trade unions and, in particular, to the "reform organizations," a kind of workers' control councils, granted by the authorities after the events of 1956 but gradually taken back, integrated into the official unions and thus completely useless and rejected by the workers. The mechanism is similar, but so is the popular awareness of the leaders' duplicity, the inanity of their promises. Today this social memory, this practical knowledge of the mechanisms of recovery might sometimes explain the intransigence and the refusal to compromise.

Today, Znak is an ally and a partner to most of the "opposing" intellectuals meeting in different groups, the most important of which is surely the KSS-KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense KOR], whose sign could be seen early in September decorating the walls of Warsaw, though it was quickly covered. A principal element was the organizers of the strike committees and solidarity committees formed during the weeks of the strike, which resulted for the most part in independent trade unions; they called and are now calling on these intellectuals as experts and advisers, an appeal that cannot give way to any attempt at recovery, since this "intellectual opposition" is so poorly structured, so numerically weak that no one of its groups could attempt to divert to its own advantage the whole of the movement, however much it might wish to do so. At the very most the idea might be supported that the majority of these adviser intellectuals preach a moderation, a calm that are urgently recommended by the Church. But no one, especially in the West, has any right to claim that any other strategy, "all-the-way" or violent, was possible without suicidal risks.

The number of "available" intellectuals throughout the whole country was considerable at that particular time, because the movement developed during the period of school and university vacations; but also, more broadly, because many of them, though they had not been subject to a repression as severe as that in Czechoslovakia, were more or less isolated, supported in the institutions without exercising any real responsibilities there.

We are therefore careful not to compare the "Polish opposition" with an organized pressure group in a pluralistic democracy. It is on the basis of personal contacts sometimes expanded to tolerated activities--independent courses, participation in training courses on reflection, religious retreats, signing petitions--that knowledge and respect are formed. Moreover, everyone has seen the inanity of the

official tactic, which consists of arresting and prosecuting the /leaders/ [in italics], thinking to decapitate it. Alas, the model of a regime resting on a few leaders does not apply to the current movement. The danger of dispersal is obvious. It is not by chance that the only accepted common reference is still the Polish nation, "We are all Poles."

But the advantage is attached to unseizability: what repression could clearly refer to a group as "nonworking?"

What is the Future?

Although the early movements in the spring and in July emerged from economic questions, no one doubts that such questions played only a detonating role. It is really the operating style of the Polish society that is being challenged. It was not a matter of overthrowing the political regime, which everyone knows would be suicide; nor was it a matter of challenging Poland's international alliances or its foreign policy. What good would it do to obtain a wage increase, a price freeze on certain products, if inflation, waste, and incompetence were to erode those advantages in a few months?

The calm and the maturity of the strikers has been emphasized many times, right up until the country is on the verge of a general strike, of protest and solidarity (to 29 August). No one wanted to go too far then, even though the forecasts of the optimists were exceeded every day.

The regime would not negotiate--and it was also part of the strikers' political and social maturity that they knew this--except with a knife at the throat. But if no one, despite the government's unbelievable debacle, was challenging it, on what then depends the novelty of the concessions obtained?

Those concessions are undoubtedly putting in place a social model that involves all sectors of public life. The process of separating the official from the independent, despite the cries of officials loudly demanding their "autonomy" while praising the virtues of unity, introduces a mechanism whose effects may be considerable.

Ideologic justifications, which are the way of operating and legitimizing government relations in the East, make of the constitutions concerned models of democracy, except that there is no question of enforcing them. If a power structure peacefully imposes enforcement of the written laws, it is the whole system of government that is in danger. And the social areas are many in which what has already been obtained might be enforced.

Many people congratulated themselves that the workers' movement did not take place during the school and university term. Several years ago, in fact, the government thought it would be a good idea to form a union between the students' "union" organization and the young socialists' political organization. How would the question of forming a new independent trade union have been raised after the October beginning of the school year?

In the state-owned agricultural enterprises misappropriation and corruption reign, this is obvious and admitted, for example for obtaining fertilizer and machines. One might think that the paid workers of these production units will introduce into the agricultural sector the same demands for protection of their professional interests, aspiring to a real control over management.

In Poland everyone knows that the Sejm is not representative. Of course, there is a 97-percent vote, and the elected representatives constitute a perfect sampling of the population in age, sex and profession. But the electoral system imposes control over candidacies by the party and is coupled with a list system that allows only the top names--chosen beforehand, of course--to get by. The social ineffectiveness of this pseudo-representation has just been proven. However, the constitution stipulates that representatives of professional unions are eligible. How will the government be able to prevent "independent" candidacies from being expressed?

Thus the internal extension of the model introduced by the recent events is inevitable. Since early September we have witnessed a flowering of demands by "independent" unions in all branches of economic life. Debates and demands proliferate. An extension that could be a major risk, inasmuch as the period before Edward Gierek's departure brought out a party without head or leadership, not knowing how to clearly delimit the tolerable. In that sense, replacing Edward Gierek with a man who outlines the limits of the possible is reassuring to the "members" at the grassroots of the party without directives or leaders, for the most part incapable of taking on any responsibility whatsoever. No one in Poland is hoping for the development of an "all-the-way" strategy, but the power vacancy constitutes the greatest danger of foreign intervention: the Soviet nature abhors a vacuum.

It was not the blows of a political opposition that overthrew the leaders, but the weakness of the official institutions, an inverse pyramid of power whose real base rests on a mere few persons. And the party members, like the 25,000 permanent members of the official unions, need to know how to think and, incidentally, who will guarantee their privileges in the current debacle.

The second danger of extension is external. It is clear that the success or the only test of a socialism that includes the seeds of pluralism can only be a source of anxiety for the brother countries, above all for the GDR. Caught between the FRG, which is liberal, and a more democratic Poland, it would have the greatest trouble preventing a contagion with consequences much more dangerous even than in Poland. But contacts are numerous and relatively simple between the two countries: daily border crossings number in the tens of thousands.

In fact the GDR is not just a socialist country like the others. An essential economic and technological reservoir, the location of a considerable deployment of Soviet forces (20 divisions on German territory, as opposed to 2 in Poland), East Germany is the real advance frontier of the Eastern bloc; Poland was never that frontier.

No doubt it is there, rather than in Hungary or in the sempiternal danger, Yugoslavia, that the greatest risks are to be seen. The risk of Soviet intervention suffered by Poland if there is internal destabilization; or intervention /from/ [in italics] Poland. In Czechoslovakia, the Soviet tanks of 1968 were accompanied by Polish and German colleagues from the East, let us not forget.

For many Poles, the European fear of intervention smacks of "feeble relief" and causes a certain amazement tinged with distrust. Perhaps European public opinion, sensitized by the debates on modernization of the Soviet arms systems and the intervention in Afghanistan, is especially receptive to all the risks and rumors of intervention. In Poland a better awareness of the real risks leads to a greater maturity in the movement's political conduct. Foreign alliances, the party's role or friendship with the USSR are never challenged.

intervention is not a secondary hypothesis here. But it must not be forgotten that in that case the threshold would be much higher to jump over than it was, for example, in Czechoslovakia. The risks assumed by the USSR by intervening in Poland would be extremely high and would only be justified by the prospect of a stake ready to be lost.

In fact a genuine armed resistance may be foreseen. Tradition, historical experience, national character, join together to forbid the Polish leaders to agree to an intervention, however much they may desire one. In Czechoslovakia, anti-Soviet sentiment was not very pervasive before 1968, and the leaders did not believe in a possible intervention. Tito's special secretary recently published a memoir in which he tells how in the course of a three-day visit that Tito made to the Prague leaders at the time of the "Spring," he advised them to mobilize immediately, under the pretext of maintaining order, but in reality to make a Soviet intervention more difficult. The Czech leaders rejected the advice and Tito remained in Prague for only one day.

The Czechs, then, had the experience of just one betrayal: Munich. The Poles have had many; there is no need to go back to the 18th or 19th century to unearth examples of resistance. When on 19 October 1956 Kruschchev landed in Warsaw the city was threatened by four Soviet divisions. He finally yielded to Gomulka's arguments, but also to the pressure of fact: the Polish army's refusal to obey the orders of Soviet Marshal Mokossowski [should be Rokossousky].

So it is not a question of claiming that the Soviets would banish intervention in any hypothesis, or that they would fail to occupy the country, but the operation would have a high cost, not only within the socialist bloc, but also on the international level, in a period when Moscow is trying hard to erase the tensions caused by the change in Soviet weapons and their intervention outside their own soil.

The Soviets undoubtedly are counting much more on slowly recovering the movement, the game of the institutional mechanisms that were broken in long ago, to annihilate the opponents later on, when enthusiasm and hopes will have fallen again, than on a violent and massive intervention that would be hard to justify and would have incalculable consequences.

On the other side of the coin, one can only observe the West's eagerness to promote settlement of the Polish economic troubles, even while being careful not to intervene in political problems. Prudence or fear, the media like Radio Free Europe have authorized no statement likely to throw oil on the fire. Before they received dollars the Polish probably received much advice to exercise prudence and moderation, which no doubt contributed to preventing the denunciation of Polish officials of any foreign seizure of the movement. There is of course in the financial facilities granted to Poland, in the deferment of the debt that constitutes the granting of new loans, an eagerness to prevent any risk of destabilization in Europe. However, it may not be just a new American-European Marshall Plan that Poland needs.

But, though in 1920 the Treaty of Versailles was critized, it will still be a long time before Yalta is tampered with. Western Europeans today cannot hope, any more than the Poles can, to upset the zones of influence. Will they be content for long to "pay" for their security? The Baltic summer might, however, again take up this old Polish motto: "For our freedom and yours."

8946
CSO: 3100

YUGOSLAV ARTISTIC SOCIETY GROUP TOURS ALBANIA

[Editorial report] AU271943--Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 14 December on page 8 carries a 1,500-word report by Cvetan Stanoevski on his impressions on a 12-day visit to Albania with a group of the Besa Cultural Artistic Society of Gostivar. This December the group toured "almost all of south Albania," traveled "hundreds of kilometers" and visited "many towns" giving performances. This was a "privilege," for few tourists are admitted to Albania, and business visitors' travels end at the Dajti Hotel in Tirana or in the particular town where business talks are held, Stanoevski says.

He reports on the iron gate and barbed wire fence which marks the Albanian border above Lake Ohrid, and mentions "some 'discoveries' connected with the unexpected" in Albania: the labor needed to cultivate "every foot--exactly that every foot of land" and to drain the marshes along the sea coast, so that all the Albanians can be fed; the lengthening of life expectancy from 38 to 69 years and liquidation of unemployment. "What you see in the streets is not up to the European standard, but the former rags are only a memory of the old people."

Stanoevski observes that "Albania is surely the only country on our planet where no religious buildings exist" and where religion is banned, following the campaign in 1967. Albania "has no private automobiles, motorcycles or private horses." There is a professional theater in every town of any size, but neither on stage nor on screen do you ever see a kiss. Modern dancing has not gone beyond the tango and the waltz, and the radio rarely carries music that is not of Albanian origin.

The priority tasks of the country, according to Stanoevski, are to feed the people, to develop the industry and to defend the country. These and other tasks are displayed on numerous banners, "the costs of arranging and putting up of which are not negligible."

Stanoevski reports that the Albanian hosts accompanying the Gostivar group saw them off at the border with many kisses and some tears. In conclusion, he notes there was a picture of Stalin at the customs building, just as there were statues of Stalin in Tirana, Fier and Vlore, "but somehow it did not seem to be noticed."

CSO: 2800

AUERSPERG COMMENTS ON BERLIN IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 48, 26 Nov 80 pp 8, 9

[Article by Pavel Auersperg: "International Meeting of the Forces of World Progress"]

[Text] The fate and future of mankind are inseparably linked with the actions, purposefulness and achievements of the anti-imperialist struggle led by the three principal movements in contemporary society, namely, the world socialist community, the forces of the national liberation struggle, and the revolutionary workers movement in the capitalist countries. These powerful revolutionary currents, born of the Great October Socialist Revolution, pursue identical goals: to ensure a lasting and just peace, to lead all the captive nations out of imperialist dependence, to win for them national and social liberation, and to create prerequisites for their entry on the road of independent and socially progressive development; and finally, in the capitalist countries, to help the working class break the rule of national, as well as multinational monopolies, and put an end once and for all to capitalist exploitation.

Strategists of contemporary imperialism are well aware of this historically inevitable reality and therefore do not spare any effort and means to create disruption, suspicion, and alienation among these principal forces in order to be in a better position to pursue in a more devious manner the expansive and exploitative interests of imperialism. The so-called Carter Doctrine and the Washington-Peking alliance placed all their bets this year on all possible and impossible means to reverse the results already achieved via a policy of international detente and the ensuing successes in the growth of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement, especially the results of the Afghani revolution, as well as the choice of about 20 African and Asian nations to pursue the road of socialist orientation.

These feverish attempts of North American imperialism unquestionably complicated and dangerously sharpened the international situation, and demonstrated that the forces of aggression, in the pursuit of their egotistical and disruptive goals, do not shy away even from blackmail by means of economic pressures and ideological diversion. However, the results confirm that the United States and its Peking cohorts are unable to reverse the inexorable logic of historical development, or to wrest initiative from the hands of the powerful forces of peaceful and social progress to which the future rightly belongs.

A graphic illustration of the potential and resources available to the world anti-imperialist movement was the recent theoretical conference on the theme of Joint Struggle of Workers and National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress, held from 20 to 24 October 1980 in Berlin under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. It is difficult to review comprehensively all the wealth of thought, initiatives, insightful commentaries, analyses, and prognoses contained in the four principal appearances of representatives of the SED, CPSU, the Mozambique FRELIMO, and the French Communist Party, which were echoed in 195 discussion contributions by representatives of the anti-imperialist movements of all five continents.

The Historical Meaning of the Conference

The conference proper included representatives of 78 communist parties, and 38 revolutionary democratic parties and national liberation movements. Of this, 28 organizations participated for the first time in a meeting of this type organized by communists. These figures alone are self-explanatory and need no additional commentary.

The Berlin gathering was, in fact, the first of its kind in the history of the international revolutionary movement, and has no precedent in the past 60 years. On the platform of a scientific, theoretical conference, a common language was sought and found by communists and revolutionary democrats who, from common positions of solidarity, strove to define the unifying anti-imperialist interests, and exchanged experiences from the revolutionary struggle. Differences in world outlook notwithstanding, they clearly demonstrated their anti-imperialist will and unity of purpose of key contemporary problems. In the course of a broad discussion the first multifaceted contact was established, and it provided overwhelming testimony that the revolutionary forces of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle regard Marxism-Leninism in the socialist countries as a most natural ally in their continuing struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. They consider the effective solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists as the principal supporter in the building of a new, free life, and in the struggle for national democratic, and ultimately, socialist orientation in their countries. The chief CPSU delegate, Comrade B.N. Ponomarev, summarized in general terms the substance of current processes corresponding to the most vital interests of the young, liberated nations as follows: "These processes have an immense influence on the lives and fortunes of dozens of nations which together represent half of the population of our planet. It is a matter of defending statehood, national renaissance, and economic and cultural development--in other words, full resumption of national life with the use of all the valuable and individualized assets accumulated in the past which the colonizers tried to suppress and destroy. For centuries they have throttled and tortured the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, delayed their development for a long time and, in many cases, pushed their development far back." Consequently, Comrade Ponomarev continued, their struggle against imperialism now focuses "on progressive changes, on the strengthening of national statehood, on the formulation of a national economy and national culture."

The role of the theory and practical application of Marxism-Leninism in this struggle was convincingly defined by the assessment presented by a member of the Central Committee of FRELIMO in Mozambique, Comrade Viera, who in one of the principal addresses to the conference emphasized: "Marxism-Leninism is a large tree which grew during the period of suffering and national struggle, was irrigated

by the blood and sweat of the working masses, a tree which now produces the most beautiful fruit. Every ideological confrontation within FRELIMO forced us to find solutions, often new ones, since the problems were new, but solutions responsive to the struggle of workers of all classes and respectful of their experiences in the struggle. This fact clearly illustrates the universality of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, shows that Marxism-Leninism is a science continuously developing within the revolutionary struggle, and not a sclerotic, dogmatic catechism prescribing final solutions for all problems. Consequently, we must be vigilant and, from the start, reject chauvinistic deviations aimed at some sort of 'special socialism.' We declare that there cannot be any other kind of socialism than scientific socialism."

Tested Experiences of Socialism

The discussions at the Berlin conference brought forth a number of initiatives which intensify and define more precisely the theory and practical application of the socialist orientation and are of crucial importance for the strengthening of its roots in the progressive governments of the young liberated countries. This orientation needs to have at its head a party which, on the basis of scientific socialism, leads society toward strengthening from top to bottom the organs of democratic power, prepares and educates party and state cadres dedicated to the working masses and the cause of socialism, and strengthens the national armed forces capable of defending the peoples revolutionary achievements. At the same time it requires a constant expansion of contact between the party and state on the one hand, and the masses on the other, inclusion of the working people in the management and administration of public affairs, and implementation of correct economic and social policies. All this ensures the strenghthening of the country's independence, raises the quality of production and guarantees an improved living standard of the population. Finally, development of relations with the socialist countries, the most dependable and true friends of the independent, free-thinking states, is a major requirement.

Representatives of the liberation movements favorably assessed the experiences of the socialist states tested in practical application and their support through meaningful solidarity with the just struggle of the young liberated states as the best guarantee in their struggle for independence and progressive future of their nations. They also expressed their conviction that the international policies of socialism aimed at achieving international detente, a halt in the arms race, and providing effective assistance in the struggle against neocolonialism, represents the crucial foundation of the anti-imperialist struggle. They affirmed that this policy is trusted, has met with warm sympathy, and arouses a positive response among all consistently anti-imperialist forces within the national liberation movements, and that attempts to intimidate these new forces within the national liberation movements, and that attempts to intimidate these new forces by propagandistic warnings of some mysterious "expansion of international communism" or any other anti-Soviet and anticommunist inventions promise to bear no fruit whatever in the future.

Participants in the conference uncompromisingly rejected the ever more devious efforts of contemporary neocolonialism, exposed and denounced the exploitative maneuvers of the international monopolies, racism and apartheid, support of fascist trends in Latin America, as well as the aggressive intentions of North American imperialism in the Middle East, Africa, and South East Asia. In their

discussion contributions, spokesmen for the liberation movements clearly recognized and, without illusions, acknowledged the subversive policy of Peking and its nefarious role in the current aggressive course of American imperialism. They documented with facts their understanding that the Peking chieftains have long ago abandoned their pseudo revolutionary and pseudo-anticolonialist pose, and that today there is no area, country or region of the national liberation movement where the shameful pro-imperialist policy of Peking does not cause severe damage, acting both in coordination with imperialism and in China's own hegemonic aspirations.

Also significant in the Berlin conference was the fact that during its entire duration there was not the least trace of any defense of the contemporary recipes for reformism which, through catchy slogans of a so-called democratic socialism, provide a helping hand to modernized neocolonialism and serve as cover for less obvious but that much more dangerous methods of contemporary neocolonialist expansionism.

The Berlin conference expressed complete agreement with the assessment of M. Gremetz, representative of the French Communist Party, that "social democracy in its relations with the young liberated nations, tries in the name of solidarity to pave the way for class collaboration, both within individual countries and in the international context." In the same manner, its concepts for the restructuring of international economic relations, according to this French communist, "shrink into timid attempts to alter the existing international division of labor which would, however, continue to serve the profit strategy of the big industrial and financial monopolies."

The Dismal Failure of Imperialist Concepts

A significant portion of the Berlin conference agenda was taken up by the problems in the ideological sphere where the imperialist attempts to penetrate the national liberation movement and inoculate it with its own ideology, met with a sharp rebuff. In an uncompromising manner, the conference exposed imperialism's true antihumanitarian visage, as well as its maneuvers to provoke discord, abuse tribal prejudices, and incite conflicts and enmity among neighboring states. During an exchange of experiences gained in the international ideological struggle, the conference received with great interest the address of CPCZ Central Committee Secretary J. Fojtik, which reviewed in vivid terms the stand of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our findings contained in the important document we call Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 12th Congress.

On the subject of confrontation with the political and ideological machinations of imperialism, individual contributions defined the tasks and interests of the nonaligned countries, delineated existing reserves in this movement, and unmasked the attempts of imperialist policy to disrupt its ranks or infect it with highly damaging postulates. This concerns, for example, the "theory" of maintaining equal distance from both blocs, the fraudulent thesis of two superpowers which totally ignores the class struggle, and other efforts to neutralize the anti-imperialist, antisocialist and antiracist substance of the movement of nonaligned states.

Despite understandable variations, the unity in approach which typified these contributions is shown by the fact that of 195 discussion contributions, only 4 contained partially dissonant tones which can be objectively characterized as opportunist adaptability to certain interpretations of bourgeois policy and ideology. This fact itself demonstrates the disproportion between the practical impact and weight of such tendencies and the blaring trumpeting accorded them by bourgeois propaganda.

The Berlin discussions, in indivisible unity, examined the political and economic aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle, the effect of the economic crisis of capitalism, exposed the rapacious behavior of the multinational monopolies, and approached from varying points of view the key problem of today: how to bring about a democratization of the international economic situation which is deformed by the expansionist pressures of imperialism and the multinational monopolies.

It was significant that opinions expressed in Berlin were overwhelmingly of an anti-imperialist character, without any illusions that the democratization goal can be reached through negotiations or compromise with imperialism. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of participants expressed the conviction that such a basic change can only emanate from a fierce internal and international anti-imperialist struggle.

We could speak of many other problems which attest to the utter failure of various imperialist concepts, for example, the noncommunist manifesto published in the mid-sixties by the well-known ideologue of American imperialism, W. Rostow, which offers a prescription for misguiding the young liberated nations into the role of satellite of the values of the so-called free world, concepts which soon evaporated into nothingness. In contrast, the Berlin conference represented creative laboratory research of thought in which truthful replies were sought and found to the most timely and most burning questions of national, anti-imperialist, and social progress of nations.

The spirit of the conference was set by Comrade Ponomarev's words in his introductory remarks: "In order to safeguard peace and social progress, there is a vital need for joint action and mutual understanding among the forces of socialism, the workers movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation forces. This unified effort must play a leading role in safeguarding the security of nations and in transforming the world on the basis of equality, democracy, and justice. The solidarity of these three basic currents of the contemporary revolutionary process will continue to represent the moving force behind global development."

After completing its deliberations, the Berlin conference did not adopt any closing resolution or political proclamation. Nevertheless, its work was fittingly summed up in the final toast proposed by the veteran of the international communist movement, R. Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay: "The discussions, the contributions by comrades, and the participation of so many forces and so many liberation movements, socialist countries, socialist parties, communist parties, and liberation fronts--all this represents the best possible resolution, one which emanates from living experience, a resolution of unity." This substantive assessment really provides a trustworthy and truthful summation of the success of the Berlin conference.

9496
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TRADE UNION ROLE IN PREPARATION OF NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN EXPLAINED

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian No 11, 1980 pp 1-2

[Article by Dr Laszlo Pukta, head of the Economics Department of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]: "Participation of Trade Unions in the Social Debate on the Sixth Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] The social debate on the Sixth Five-Year Plan guidelines represents an important contribution to our democratic legislative process and to strengthening the foundations of the medium term plan. At the end of September the Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions also discussed the guidelines of the Sixth Five-Year National Economic Plan. Based on the work program formulated by the SZOT Secretariat, trade unions took part in all of the most important phases of the preparatory work on the plan. In close cooperation with leading bodies within each sector, industry and geographical region, the position of trade unions has emerged using the experience gained in factories and enterprises. The opinions and comments of the trade unions on a number of questions have been presented at the early stages when ideas and particular details were being discussed. The working relationship with state planning organizations has become more regular and systematic than in the past.

Government authorities also have a definite need to find out about the position of trade unions on conceptual questions of great economic and political importance.

The formulation of the Sixth Five-Year National Economic Plan is still in progress. The planning legislation will be debated in the National Assembly in December. Therefore, this article cannot give an overall description of the Sixth Five-Year Plan or define the complex tasks faced by trade unions. But we need to talk about the main issues affecting the position of the trade union movement and a few related important tasks.

For the trade union movement it is of fundamental importance to ensure that, in line with the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the MSZMP, the opportunity of our economic development remains unbroken during the next five year plan period. Therefore, trade unions showed a great deal of political responsibility when they took part in the solution of movement tasks in connection with the preparatory phase of the plan. We consider the guidelines of the Sixth Five-Year Plan as an important document from the standpoint of our social policy and economic development goals.

The trade union movement continues to assume that our development is governed chiefly by the medium term plan, both on the national economic and the enterprise level. Enterprise collectives require that the main directions and framework of economic development be stated unequivocally so that enterprise operations and the creative, innovative activity of workers is not subject to interference resulting from annually changing directives, organizational changes, regulatory modifications, etc., each of which affects short term incentives.

Trade unions are in agreement with the ideas formulated in the guidelines for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and with the main goals and directions of our economic policy defined by the plan. Nevertheless, there exist some uncertainties and questions awaiting clarification in some particular areas which need to be answered in the forthcoming phase of planning work by continuing a realistic analysis of the situation.

One of the most important national economic policy goals, the equilibrium situation of the national economy and, in particular, a gradual improvement in the foreign trade balance, occupies the central position in the comments and opinions expressed by the trade unions. But debates are still continuing on the interpretation of this goal and the system of instruments to be used to accomplish it. The trade unions' position is that, in the interests of preserving and strengthening our accomplishments in the area of living standards, we must not put the emphasis on transitional, short range solutions. Among these are the increasing tendency to syphon off the resources produced and the slowdown of internal accumulation at a time of reduced growth rates which can only be effective over the short run. There exist economic resources to be syphoned off for redistribution but they are finite. More emphasis must be placed on a system of economic instruments which can provide a long term basis for equilibrium and the fulfilment of social policy goals. To this end, it is necessary to emphasize quality-related requirements. Our international competitiveness must be improved in the spirit of the 20 October 1977 Central Committee resolution. In other words, only by improving the productivity of work of the entire society can we lay the foundations for the accomplishment of our long range goals. The question is whether the Hungarian economy is capable of providing more for accumulation and consumption while improving our balance in line with the requirements posed by intensive economic development, relying on the resources generated by improved efficiency. In my opinion, the answer is yes.

The task of government bodies, enterprises and trade unions is substantially more complex than before. Successful work by trade unions in the interests of production and operations requires the mobilization of working masses from planning to execution. Active cooperation by workers is predicated upon their identification with the tasks and goals facing us. This is what gives content to socialist work movements. The production policy tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan demand higher quality of work within mass organizations. In my opinion, a thorough analysis is needed to find ways to improve the social usefulness of these movements and increase their attractiveness among the masses in the interest of the successful execution of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, by spreading and further enriching successful methods and experiences of the past and eliminating formalistic features that still exist. As long as there exists a sharp division between socialist work competition and pledges undertaken by the brigade movement on the one hand and economic targets set by the plan on the other, or between the innovation movement (or, more precisely, innovations already accepted) and the technological development section of the plan,

progress is bound to be very slow. In this connection, it is no accident that the trade unions' position emphasized the demand that economic, administrative and planning bodies and the economic leadership of enterprises regard work movements as important instruments of uncovering reserves and major factors in production. In this connection, workers are justified in asking for continuous supplies of materials and work. This is the basis for disciplines, high quality work. Trade unions demand this not only as part of their work in assisting operations and production but also in their role as guardians of the workers' interests.

The main goals set by the Sixth Five-Year Plan guidelines are the improvement of the equilibrium situation along with the preservation and strengthening of our achievements in the area of living standards. On this occasion we can discuss only one fundamentally important question, in place of a detailed analysis of all of the aspects of this goal. An important element of the policy guidelines on living standards specifies that 1980 earnings serve as the basis for setting average real wages of workers, employees and wage earners in agricultural cooperatives. This represents a manifold, complex task in view of the identical rise in consumer prices and nominal earnings. Not just because of the powerful pressure toward rising consumer prices tied to the modernization of our price system, although this factor is certainly not negligible. The fundamental issue under these conditions is how to ensure that wages and earnings act as incentives related to efficiency requirements while differentiation according to work performance is being strengthened. How does differentiation affect the distribution of real wages? To what extent can it ensure that increasing output leads to increasing wages? To give an answer, a declaration of principle may be found in the position which emphasizes that trade unions consider the relationship between consumer price trends and incomes to be a close one. Differentiation of wages and earnings according to performance must serve as an incentive instead of contributing to damaging tensions.

In our survey of the main goals and constituent elements of economic policy for 1981-85 we should discuss in detail the question of "how", i.e., the system of instruments to be used to accomplish those goals.

The success of our economic management system and the relationship between the macro and microeconomic levels has a decisive influence on the fulfilment of our goals. It closely interacts with economic policy, the actual fulfilment of social needs and it also includes some elements of the superstructure. Some of its elements may be developed in a number of ways, but the main requirement is that the changes must contribute to the emergence of a complex system of direction which is clearly appropriate for the fulfilment of the economic policy goals mentioned above.

The system of regulators cannot have a life of its own independent of our economic policy goals and planning structure; it cannot be separated from other components of direction. Misunderstandings may arise and a false orientation of enterprise operations may result when priority is given, in an arbitrary manner, to one aspect of direction among legal, economic and administrative measures or when social, economic, political and cultural factors affecting the running of the economy as a whole are not being taken consistently into account.

We need to separate objectively necessary measures within enterprises from subjective, ill-considered interventions. We must establish unity between the system of internal requirements of economic units and the social and economic conditions around them.

In my opinion, the success of economic direction must be measured just like other types of performance. There are a number of yardsticks available. The most important one is whether it is able to adequately communicate our goals and values to economic bodies and working collectives, i.e., whether the concrete system of requirements and the structure of instruments used to direct economic processes encourages (or, when appropriate, forces) the fulfilment of these goals.

Today it is especially important for the economic direction to operate a decision-making structure which ensures that personal responsibility is assigned unequivocally and manages to combine increased effectiveness of central direction with increased enterprise autonomy.

Direction at every level must take into account the fact that our internal conditions can be better utilized. The minimum requirement is that long range interests must not be sacrificed for momentary successes (or apparent successes). We must not set up internal obstacles arising from unjustified relaxation of productivity and efficiency requriements and later from uneconomic import substitution. Perhaps an example will serve to throw more light on the point I am making. Product structure transformation has played a major role in our economy since 1977. The question is whether we have done everything to ensure that this strategic goal is given priority on the enterprise level. The situation is involved and complex. For lack of space, we can summarily state that the system of regulators must provide more definite incentives toward continued modernization of products. This would require a weakening of present aspects emphasizing the syphoning-off of resources. It is necessary to create and operate internal conditions within enterprises and conditions of leadership which provide an adequate material and moral background for product structure policies within enterprises. They also consider transitional difficulties which arise from regrouping and new types of production and marketing requirements impacting enterprise resources in connection with product structure changes. It is necessary to eliminate the "brakes" on leadership that are still present. There should be no opportunities for protecting enterprise interests at the cost of other enterprises or consumers. We must not tolerate deficiencies of management and organization which conserve low quality of technical sophistication in production because these can magnify the size of our lag enormously. There is a need for strengthening the creativity manifested in the innovation movement. It is also necessary to resolve the contradiction existing between the scale of technological and product structure changes, measured in decades, and the annual evaluation of enterprise performance (management incentives) which has existed for a number of years.

The modernization of institutional and organizational structure deserves to be discussed separately. There are undoubtedly some contradictions within the system of direction which cannot be resolved without decisive measures. It is important to emphasize, however, that these meausres should not be an end in themselves. At the beginning of a five year plan period there may be serious dangers involved in possible unjustified organizational changes, or the invocation of such changes, resulting in relieving organizations and people of their responsibilities because of the failure to solve some serious problems.

There are a number of indications in trade union experience of views that consider modernization of the organizational structure as the fashion of the day and look for a solution through change at all cost. Our goals are clear and well-known. We need to find the most adequate organizational forms to achieve them. From the standpoint

of the trade unions it is especially important to ensure that these questions are decided on the basis of a wide ranging debate, on adequate foundations and with human factors taken into account.

In the coordinated system of goals and means it is also necessary to talk about the source of strength that arises from democratic procedure. In the opinion of the trade union movement, widening and enriching democracy at the workplace will continue as a basic instrument during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Increasing the productive capacity of our economy and the difficult tasks associated with the fulfilment of our goals require the active cooperation and initiative of the entire society. We have achieved substantial results in developing socialist democracy in the recent past. The social debate of the Sixth Five-Year Plan demonstrates the reality and content of our democratic legislative process. It brings to the surface some proposals and comments which can have a favorable effect on the formulation and implementation of our economic development and social policy goals.

In the near future, assemblies of shop stewards within enterprises and economic units are going to discuss tasks on the enterprise level arising from the 1981 plan and later, in the second quarter of the next year, for the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. In the course of this process we must look for new ways of promoting democracy at the workplace, including participation in planning under frequently changing economic conditions, increasing responsibility of the economic leadership as well as the creation and strengthening of collective thinking in face of new economic requirements.

9164
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AVOIDING REPETITION OF 1970 LABOR CRISIS URGED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Never Again"]

[Text] The 10th anniversary of the tragic December events should not be limited to paying homage to the victims of a tragedy the dimensions of which shocked the Polish people and plunged all of us into mourning. Nor should returning to those days in our minds and hearts be considered as "reminiscences." The point is not to reminisce but rather to draw conclusions from the past so that never again will social and economic conditions arise in our country in which there could occur the danger of repetition of the dramatic events of December.

There existed a brief period in the post-December policy of party and government in which a return was possible to the December events, in journalistic political commentary, for example, although then as well it was necessary to overcome the resistance of those who were in charge of the mass media. During that period there was also reference from time to time to these events in public statements by our leaders, and Edward Gierek in particular. There was developing slowly but inexorably, however, a process of forgetting about that great drama. On the first anniversary of those events, running commentary appeared in the press, commentary in which the main emphasis -- such were the requirements -- was placed on execution of current tasks, implementation of the program of action adopted at the 8th Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee (6-7 February 1971). There was considerably less running commentary on the second anniversary. The third anniversary passed unobserved. It was obviously not mere chance. Deliberate forgetting about the recent past was part of an indoctrination scheme which by no means dates from the 1970's. The basic principle of this scheme was that one should simply remain silent about that segment of contemporary history which does not make our policies and the people who created them look good. This scheme was fully applied to the December events. The public should primarily take an interest in what the "other Poland" would bring it rather than in the dramatic events of that week in December.

Such an approach to contemporary history also contained a healthy dose of garden-variety presumption, plus the arrogance of authority, and also possibly fear of individual responsibility. It is understandable that under those conditions just the thought of building a memorial or even placing a memorial plate on the walls of the shipyard to honor the memory of those who lost their lives appeared as tactless, and even a sign of activity directed against the party leadership. One cannot talk about the matter without a feeling of heartbreak and shame.

Deliberate forgetting about the December events throughout practically the entire past decade most assuredly had an influence on the attitude of the shipyard workers, and essentially on the inhabitatnts of the entire Polish Coast, and on their attitude toward post-December PZPR policy. The credibility of that policy was limited. Now and in the future our historians must comprehensively analyze the December events as well as the circumstances which led to them. This demand is by no means dictated by the desire to open up old wounds or to get the public agitated. A thorough analysis of the December events is needed in order to ensure that young Poles -- after all, at some time in the future some of them will be running this country -- are familiar with the history of their fathers, not only their noble deeds but also their painful and tragic experiences. This analysis is also necessary for those who are governing today, at all rungs of the government, social and party ladder. It is necessary because it alone can help gain an objective view of the complicated history of the last 35 years. Actually this demand should extend to all crisis situations which People's Poland has experienced. The year 1948/49, June-October 1956, March 1968, December 1970, June 1976 and, finally, the year 1980 -- these are the dates which historians should scrutinize, and politicians should hasten to their assistance in gaining access to documents which are presently preserved in archives and safes. The view that the fullest possible revelation of the course of events during these crises could be politically disadvantageous is both insipid and hopelessly narrow intellectually.

The history of mankind and of social and political systems has never evolved along a straight line. Dramatic events, sharp turns, and tragedies affecting individuals and entire groups as well as social classes constitute an integral part of the history of societies. Lowering a curtain of silence over the crises experienced by People's Poland has impoverished our knowledge about a historical necessity, the resultant of objectively functioning rights, independent of our will, and as a result of our weaknesses. In the final analysis a disinclination to look into a past marked by crises has weakened the carrying power of the ideology proclaimed by the party, and has deprived it of considerable capability to influence society with the aid of rational arguments, for after all, it is a fact, for example, that nobody wished for events to develop as they did on the Polish Coast in 1970. But the events did take place. For the second time in the history of People's Poland, arms were used against the workers. The thought of firing at their fathers and brothers was the farthest thing from the minds of the troops in the military units which entered the port cities. In spite of that, the workers and peasants army turned its weapons on striking and demonstrating shipyard workers. Up to the present day I do not know of the existence of a single scholarly study or literary work containing a description of the drama in which our officers and enlisted men were involved. The truth about the December crisis will be incomplete without convincing presentation of all the situations in which the participants in the tragic events found themselves. It is also necessary to answer the question of why there occur precisely in our country such frequent and highly dramatic conflicts. Is it only a matter of bad policy? Doctrinal weaknesses? Weaknesses of the leadership? Is it perhaps necessary to delve deep into history? To reflect on the consequences of the lack of existence of a Polish state over a period of more than 100 years? There are certainly more questions to be asked than those listed above. The sooner we find an answer to them, the more effective and rational government in Poland will be. And after all, that is the point. In the hubbub of daily affairs, not all political leaders have a sensitive ear to the various aspects of Polish crises. A lack of such responsiveness was one of the reasons why the people in charge of the ideological front were able to put under lock and key several important

sections of contemporary Polish history. Such responsiveness is more necessary today than ever before. Precisely this sensitivity and responsiveness should bring about an extremely essential analysis, and not only analysis, by the party of all crises, as demanded above.

Returning to the 10th anniversary of the December events, which was preceded by a mass protest by the worker class which has swept across Poland in recent months, one cannot help but take note of the unusually important fact that the use of force has been repudiated as a means of resolving the conflict which has arisen. This was the only correct decision, and those who were its ardent supporters will most certainly be given high marks by history, especially since one could also imagine another solution, irrespective of the consequences it would bring. History contains hundreds of such cases. Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, was also one of the resolute opponents of a so-called solution by force.

Carefully following the course of the debate presently taking place in this country, I have the impression that the historic significance of the political solution which has been evolving for several weeks -- a broad, mass strike movement -- has not been adequately appreciated. It should be, however, because it signifies, in the first place, victory not only for reason but also a sense of the responsibility lying on the PZPR and, in the second place, it opened up the way for adoption, in the face of all the consequences of this crisis, of a policy of negotiation and agreement. Even if this policy has been subjected to vacillations in these past months, which is understandable when one considers the unusual situation in which Poland found itself, its beneficial effects for the country are in evidence. This policy saved our people from bloodshed and helped strengthen the renewalist current within the party. Strengthening of this policy line effectively limits the desire for confrontation. If the policy of negotiation becomes stronger, the area for confrontation will become steadily narrower. This means that all political and social forces, all patriotically-thinking Poles must support and strengthen this policy. Not verbally, of course. A great many words have already been uttered, perhaps too many. At the present time we need nothing so much as active support of this policy. It can be supported only by vigorous actions aimed at emerging as rapidly as possible from the economic and political crisis, and by willingness to resolve existing or constantly newly arising conflicts in a spirit of reasonable compromise.

The policy of negotiation and compromise is favorable for Poland's further socialist development. A socialism such as is desired by the worker class, by the entire people. Perhaps these are big words, but the times are not ordinary either. For a great many of my fellow countrymen who are sick and tired of what in their opinion is chaos which has been reigning for too long, and of growing difficulties in the daily routine of life, this country's future seems gloomy, filled with questions to which they are unable to find an answer. While not minimizing present fears and concerns, it is necessary to hold firmly to solid ground. We still have a chance to make it, to show the world that we are able to manage Poland so that it does not become the sick man of Europe. I repeat: we still have a chance.

Serious reflection about the December events would be incomplete, even impoverished if it did not contain a warning directed toward all those decision-makers who tend to interpret every quieting down of the situation, such as an absence of strikes,

a lessening of public emotions, etc, as consent to slow down the pace of actions, which are frequently too slow already, in the area of rebuilding the structures which in the final analysis led to the December events, as well as to our present economic and political crisis. We must continue to hurry, and even more, to keep ahead of events. Sluggishness, half measures, putting up obstacles, and the famous Polish "Somehow things will work out" must be our enemy.

The memory of the victims of the December tragedy demands of us persistent and determined action aimed at building a system of exercise of government authority whereby crises, which comprise a not inconsequential part of the history of People's Poland, could never again be repeated.

3024
CSO: 2600

DISCUSSION OF LIBERAL TREND IN POLAND NOTED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte: "Gierek Sacks His Prime Minister But Also the Party's 'Hardliners'--Liberal Turnaround in Poland--Reform of the Trade Unions Announced"]

[Text] The Polish workers have just carried off a great victory. Once again, their movement of discontent has brought about serious political upheavals.

The fourth plenum of the Central Committee, held yesterday, was marked by profound changes in the leadership of the party and of the government, going generaly in the direction of a strengthening of the most open and most liberal elements. Gierek, to be sure, striking at both the left and the right, as is his habit, has eliminated Mr Babiuch, the premier, who had declared in favor of reforms, but this is mainly a matter of a personal confrontation, the first secretary apparently not having forgiven his old faithful lieutenant for having openly criticized him in recent months. Babiuch is replaced as premier by Mr Pinkowski, a technocrat of 51, who, after studies in the economic college of Poznan, served as an officer in the Polish army from 1952 to 1956 before working on the Plan Commission and becoming, in February 1974, secretary of the Central Committee.

Also leaving the politburo are Mr Lukaszewicz, a "hardliner" responsible for ideology and propaganda; Mr Wrzaszczyk, until now in charge of planning, who has had a breakdown; and Mr Szydlak, responsible for trade unions, who disappeared in the turmoil of August. Changes in the government have also taken place with new ministers of foreign affairs (the former vice-minister, Mr Czyrek), finance, machine engineering industry, and in the office of statistics, as well as in the department of radio-television, where another "hardliner," Maciej Szczepanski (strongly detested by the party's liberals), has been eliminated.

At the same time, Mr Grabski becomes vice-premier. He was in the news last year, [illegible] openly the government's policy when he was first secretary of the vaivode of Konin. Subsequently, at the February congress, he lost his place on the Central Committee.

But in particular, one notes the great return to the foreground of Stefan Olszowski, who had been eliminated from the politburo last February at the party congress and ssent to East Berlin as ambassador, and for whom this is a striking evening of the score. Mr Olszowski can, even more than Mr Gierek, legitimately be considered the true conqueror of this plenum. Stefan Olszowski is a man of great openness of mind, but also an ardent socialist ideologist.

This had already come out in the speech delivered by Mr Gierek at the conclusion of the plenum. Making a kind of self-criticism, the first secretary announced a "new morality" and promised a complete overhaul of the trade unions, a very liberal overhaul since it provided in particular for free elections with secret ballots.

Everything therefore indicates that we are witnessing a new departure for a policy marked by openness, pragmatism, search for popular support, but also an effort to return to the lost ideals of socialism.

This, of course, could upset the Soviets tomorrow. Today, they will be solaced and satisfied to see the situation in Poland return to order. It is probable, indeed, that after these changes, an agreement could be reached in Gdansk soon between the government and the workers.

During this time, an imminent resumption of the negotiations finally initiated on Saturday between the government commission led by Mr Jagielski, vice-premier, and the joint strike committee was awaited. Jagielski came personally on Saturday evening to the shipyards, where he gave a speech to the strikers. The vice-premier promised in particular an overhaul of the existing trade unions. There is no doubt that Jagielski is a very competent personality to conduct this kind of negotiations. Hadn't he, in a speech a few years ago, declared himself in favor of development of workers' democracy and liberalization of the trade unions?

Before him, Mr Kolodziejski, vaivode (governor) of Gdansk, had gone to the shipyards for a preliminary talk with the workers. These first talks had subsequently been described as "very satisfactory" by Mr Walesa, chairman of the strike committee. Hope of a solution of the Gdansk conflict is therefore beginning to dawn on the horizon.

The decision by the authorities to finally go into negotiatiln with the joint strike committee is obviously a fortunate one. It is an important concession by the government and a very serious victory for the strikers.

The government had, in effect refused until now to engage in dialog with the joint strike committee, on the pretext that it was not representative, having been elected spontaneously by the workers, and because, on the other hand, there were supposed to have been "antisocialist elements" on it.

Yet one would have to be very naive and ignorant of the history of People's Poland to think that the mere fact of the government's having gone into negotiations with authentic delegates of the workers signals the beginning of a new era in the relations between the authorities and the workers. In 1956 and 1957, we had already seen very authentic workers' councils in Poland, and in January 1971, the government accepted dialog with the strike committees. In both cases, these successes had no sequel.

On the other hand, one notes a new activity by the Church in the crisis that the country is experiencing. Pope John Paul II himself has addressed a message to Cardinal Wyszynski, primate of Poland, in which he writes in particular that he prays that "the Polish episcopate, with its primate at its head...can this time also lend its aid to this nation in its hard struggle for its daily bread, social justice and the inviolable right to its own life and its own development." According to a

spokesman for the episcopate, this is an invitation to the [Catholic] Church of Poland "if not to play a role as intermediary, at least to strive to exercise its moderating influence on both of the two parties involved."

This is apparently what M Kaczmarek, bishop of Gdansk, wanted to do yesterday, Sunday, by having a pastoral letter read in all the churches of the diocese, but also at the mass said in the shipyards for the strikers, in which he observes that "strikes do not do you any good; they do not do your families any good; they deepen the crisis and burden an atmosphere that is already very tense." This, it is indicated by the episcopate, is not an injunction to the strikers to go back to work but only signifies that prolongation of the strikes--through the fault of the authorities also--harms the countries.

The press continues, on the other hand, to give indications of what the new policy followed after resolution of the crisis could be. The first watchword is that of self-criticism. "We presently have," writes, for example, TRYBUNA LUDU, the party organ, "a state of affairs in which neither increase in production nor growth of national income nor progress in the profitability of labor go hand in hand with the aspirations and the growing needs of the workers."

Guarded Reactions

While the workers of Gdansk have been favorably impressed by the scope of the changes announced, their chiefs seemed, last night, to express more reserved evaluations. "We were expecting again," says one of them, "to be offered a quick-patch job." Another thinks it will be necessary to see, "right here in the yard, whether an understanding can be reached with the new premier."

11267
CSO: 3100

REASONS FOR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC CRISIS DISCUSSED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Bernard Margueritte: "The Seven Causes of the Polish Crisis--Economic Errors But Also New Political Arrangements"]

[Text] The reasons for the economic and social, but also political, crisis that Poland is experiencing have been systematically set out in our columns on many occasions in recent months. Nevertheless it is not useless, in the present circumstances, to attempt to give an overall view of them.

If it were necessary to draw up a list--which obviously would not be an exhaustive one--of the principal causes of these difficulties, it would doubtlessly be the following:

(1) a very low starting point for development; (2) too fast a leap toward industrial civilization; (3) an increasingly inappropriate system; (4) errors of economic strategy; (5) the difficulties of the general economic situation; (6) the demoralization of society; (7) the rise of aspirations.

There is a tendency to compare the standard of living in France and in Poland, which is very natural. One notes that the Polish monthly wage is barely equivalent to Fr 1,000, and that with this pay, a resident of Poland could buy, for example, about 10 pairs of shoes, or a suit and a half, or 350 liters of gasoline, or 40 kilos of sausage in a month. One thus arrives at the conclusion, obviously justified, that the Polish standard of living is much lower than that of our country, coming to barely half of it. This comparison is not suitable, though, because one cannot compare the incomparable.

One may not, in effect, ignore the fact that Poland before 1939 was a very largely agricultural country, and economically backward in many regards. Furthermore, the war brought the loss of 6 million citizens and 40 percent of the national patrimony. In addition, the movement of the borders westward and enormous population migrations disorganized the structures of the state for years.

At that time, the communist government concentrated on raising the country from its ruins as rapidly as possible, then on launching a forced industrialization program. This "singing tomorrows" policy was accompanied, in the immediate context, by the greatest austerity and Stalinist coercion. This rapid industrialization brought the formation of a first-generation proletariat, formed of people from various regions of the country, coming out of agriculture and having neither workers' cohesion nor

tradition. It was difficult, of course, to hope that this proletariat, having undergone a profound social shock, could draw best advantage from the increasingly complex machinery placed at its disposal. For example, the average Polish worker, without workers' tradition, obtains 30 to 40 percent maximum yield from the sophisticated Japanese equipment that he can use. The higher the technological level, the bigger the losses.

The Peasant Workers

Furthermore, this social shock has for a long time been expressed by feelings of alienation in these new workers, abruptly uprooted from their customary environment. The examples of workers putting coal in the bathtubs of the low-rent public-housing apartments that they have just occupied have become classic. In addition, Poland still has even now about 1.5 million "worker peasants," as they are called, who work in factories but continue to work a small farm. The result is obviously that they are neither good peasants nor good workers.

The rise of this proletariat, deeply imbued with rural tradition and very deeply religious, has led to a curious and increasingly marked confrontation between theoretical socialism, having state power and the aspiration to an idealistic socialism of a world of socialism in which a class consciousness has taken shape little by little. The crisis of Gdansk is the direct result of this confrontation between realities and fiction. One could say, without too much irony, that the regime's best success will have been to have created, despite everything, a remarkable working class which, it is true, is turning against it today.

Installing socialism in Poland was, of course, in the nature of a bet. It is only by virtue of a painful accident of history that this country, entirely oriented by its civilization and its culture toward the West, and with a 90-percent Catholic population, has found itself absorbed into the socialist bloc since the end of the war. It has been attempted to apply to it the Soviet-inspired system that could not suit Poland, whose democratic traditions are ancient and deep. There has been an attempt, to be sure, to find some accomodations that have produced the complex, often ambiguous and paradoxical, realities of present-day Poland, in which 75 percent of the land continues to belong to private peasants, in which private commerce and cottage industry persist, where the doctor has his private office along with his work in hospital or dispensary--but also where most of the films and theater presented are Western and where the churches are full every Sunday.

Incredible Waste

But in the main, the bureaucratized and centralized system of Soviet inspiration has been imposed on the country. This system has quickly become sclerotic and petrified, the structures inherited from the Stalinist era have remained in place, while the economic and social infrastructure developed rapidly. It would be unjust, of course, not to perceive today, amid the problems that the country is experiencing, the reality of the great leap forward by Mr Gierek's Poland (with a doubling of national income at 10 percent per year in the period 1969-1975); but this progress itself has only brought out more clearly the total failure of a system that is more and more unadapted to reality.

The damage it has done has been all the greater because, being bureaucratized and centralized, it has eliminated or atrophied the normal democratic processes. The

Parliament has become a fiction and the trade unions a chimera. The Pole, whose participation in decision-making has been reduced to an illusion, has felt less and less concerned and less and less responsible. The gap between governors and governed has only widened. This system is marked by incredible waste that is proving more and more costly as the economic level rises--waste by virtue of which, for example, for each $1,000 worth of production, Poland consumes three times as much energy and raw materials as France. But the most terrible waste is the human waste. Poland has many people of great talent, very brilliant and hard-working; but, reduced to the role of cogs in the big socialist machine, they use only some 30 percent of their capacities, as a Warsaw personality confided to me.

To aggravate things further, errors of economic strategy have been committed. The centralized planning--which is, moreover, often established on the basis of statistics falsified at all levels--has broken down, proving incapable, for example, of forecasting both the development of industry and development of the energy resources that have quickly proved insufficient for the functioning of the industries just built at great expense. During the favorable period of 1971-1975, it would have been possible to introduce without great social shock a modification of the price structure so as to bring it closer to economic reality and prepare for reforms of the system. It was preferred at that time to give in to euphoria, devoting up to 33 or 34 percent of national income to investments (more than the Japanese ever did).

Another fatal error has been the refusal to give priority to agriculture and favor the development of small private farming operations, which are nevertheless far more profitable, in terms of production and costs, than the enormous state farms. This error was due to the political obstinacy of the preceding premier, Jaroszewicz. On top of everything else, the economic crisis in the West has, of course, come at the worst possible time for Poland. It has, in effect, made it more difficult to export to the West. What is more, 4 years of poor harvests due to catastrophes of climate (but also to errors committed in the agricultural sector) have considerably increased the burden of imports of cereals and fodder.

At the same time, even though Poland was profiting from its exports of coal, the bill for its imports of Soviet oil got bigger and bigger. In these conditions, Poland finds itself today with an external debt of $20 billion, the necessity of exporting everything possible so as to meet its due dates, but at the same time, the pressure of a domestic market in which a population whose income has rapidly increased finds supply insufficient.

Clans and Factions

More profoundly, perhaps, 35 years of communism have demoralized society, and this is doubtlessly what it will be most difficult to rectify, no matter what the qualities of the leaders and the intelligence of the policy followed. A system in which cadres and leaders have not been chosen by the criterion of competence but by that of more or less sincere fidelity to ideological principles, in which the most highly appreciated qualities have not been work, seriousness or spirit of initiative but rather servility and blind obedience to directives from on high, has brought about a rapid demoralization of the population. Society has quickly been overrun by scourges such as favoritism, privilege, nepotism, the "buddy" policy, cliques, clans and factions, not to mention the ravaging growth of alcoholism, which have become a prime obstacle to its development and even to its normal functioning.

On the whole, the policy of detente, of opening to the West, for which credit must be given, to be sure, to Mr Gierek (the number of trips abroad, for example, multiplied by 10 during the last decade), has enabled the Poles to have new points of comparison that have nurtured ambitions. There is no longer any question, for the inhabitants of that country, of comparing their present realities with those of 20 or 30 years ago in Poland itself. They compare their standard of living with what they have been able to observe in Western Europe or the United States. In addition, their appetites for a new "socialist consumer society" have been sharpened by the very successes of the years 1971-1975. It matters little to them that economic realities lead a hard life and do not let themselves be changed rapidly, and their impatience is proportionate to their frustrations. The election of a Polish pope and his visit to the land of his ancestors has also played a great role. Thanks to John Paul II, this nation is being reborn of itself. Without any doubt, without John Paul II's trip to Poland the events of Gdansk would not have had the same character or the same depth.

Poland, once again in the course of its tragic history, is living a lamentable experience, but let us not have doubts about our Polish friends.

Let us be certain that this people will be capalbe, as they have always been, of finding at the very nadir of their difficulties the impetus for a revival whose contours are already taking shape.

11267
CSO: 3100

RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL WRITES OPEN LETTER TO ZSMP MEMBERS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[Text] JOINT SESSION OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE MAIN ADMINISTRATION (ZG) OF THE SOCIALIST UNION OF POLISH YOUTH (ZSMP) AND PRESIDIUM OF THE RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL ZG ZSMP. - THE MOST VITAL PROBLEMS OF YOUNG FARMERS. - On 30 October a joint session was held in Warsaw of the Secretariat of the ZG ZSMP and of the Presidium of the Rural Youth Council ZGZSMP

During this meeting which was chaired by Andrzej Koltek, chairman of the Main Board of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth (PSZMP) and of the ZG ZSMP, the most vital problems of rural youth touched upon in the course of the session were presented by Kazimierz Dlugosz, chairman of the Rural Youth Council.

In the discussion, particular attention was devoted to the need of transformation of the program, style and methods of action of the union in the rural environment and the enhancement of its role in solving fundamental problems of the youth, relating to beginning careers, education and culture, and the role and place of the intellectuals in this environment.

A need was Also stressed was a need for special care for young rural families and for the elderly in the countryside and to restore the authority of rural circle, and the need for wide participation of the youth in the process of the regeneration of rural self-government.

The problems that were the subject of the meeting correspond with the main idea of the Open Letter of the Rural Youth Council ZG ZSMP, which is being published below.

OPEN LETTER OF RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL ZG ZSMP

To the Members of the ZSMP, to the Present and Former Youth Movement Workers, and to All Rural Youth

At the moment when in the country as a whole a general discussion is going on concerning ways to reform the republic, we, members of the Rural Youth Council, appeal to all young residents of the countryside, to members of the ZSMP, to former and present rural youth workers, and to all who care for the countryside problems, to express their opinion on the most important matters of the countryside, for the

development of agriculture and the feeding of the nation, and in the matter of programs, principle, and the model for action of youth organizations in the countryside.

We are deeply convinced that the young generation in the countryside has a particular role to play in social and political processes that are taking place in the entire country and in this environment. We call attention to the fact that the enormous creative, social and productive potential of the young farmers, workers in agriculture and its operating personnel, of young rural intellectuals and young peasant-workers, of studying youth, and of the entire young generation, has not as yet been utilized.

A widespread discussion is going on at present on the subject whether the ZSMP is fulfilling today the role of a real organizer of professional, political, and educational-cultural activities of the youth, whether it has adequate conditions for doing this, and how it is fulfilling its especially important function of being the spokesman for youth's most vital problems and ideals.

We consider that these expectations can be fulfilled by the youth organization, which is an ideological, political, moral and opinion-forming force, an organization that is capable to lead the youth and exert the influence on its attitudes, views and way of life.

In the midst of many anxieties, fears and irresolutions, quelled and muffled for years, and at present so vividly apparent to entire society, an important question arises concerning our young generation. What is at present the state of its ideological and patriotic awareness? What impression has been left on its psyche by dramatic events of the past months? What is its belief in socialist ideals? In a situation when a shadow is cast over these ideals by social and political practice of the last years one must restore the belief of youth in socialist values and authority. With what shall we fill in, with which concrete content, our score in the future of a socialist Poland?

In the youth-related discussion, the hitherto followed program of action of the ZSMP in the rural environment is also subjected to a critical appraisal.

Long is the list of problems that are not being solved in this environment. The hiatus between enormous needs of its youth and the undertaken and unsolved problems has become rather drastic in the latter period of time.

We need at present a patriotic unity of youth, a community of thought and ideas with the young working class, in close order with all those that not only critically appraise the reality but also wish to mend and change it. We must offset emotional, social and moral losses suffered by the young generation because of the ongoing moral confusion and double morality. We ought to restore the sense of dignity and trust that we can autonomically and responsibly decide on aims and methods of our personal and joint actions, and function efficiently among our friends, understanding one another in all youth environments, sharing experience, helping one another in a friendly manner: in discussion, programmatic initiatives and actions.

We want to be an organization that will efficiently educate youth in accordance with ideals of socialism, by participating creatively and autonomically in realization of the program of the Polish United Workers' Party and United Peasant Party, in the

activities of social organizations, and in the regeneration of public life in rural environment.

We are asking you, therefore, an open question: what kind of changes are needed in the program, in the form and style of action of the youth movement, and what guarantees are required for the autonomy of rural environment in the program and methods of action of the ZSMP. We believe that being conscious of responsibility for the future of the Polish countryside, you will answer this question, as well as other questions asked earlier in this letter, answer it at general meetings of the rural youth during discussions with one another, at meetings of circles and administrations of the ZSMP, and at sessions of Rural Youth Councils.

We expect that you will make known your feelings, opinions, and suggestions, both individual and collective, to the Rural Youth Council ZG ZSMP and to the units of the Union and Rural Youth Councils in individual provinces.

The columns of youth newspapers are open to you. Let us talk! This talk that no-one can have in our place, and no-one should have, is important for the whole rural youth and for the whole young generation of Poles: it is of great importance for our fatherland - the People's Poland.

Warsaw, October 1980 RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL ZG ZSMP

1015
CSO: 2600

RELATIONS BETWEEN ORTHODOX CHURCH, CATHOLIC CHURCH DISCUSSED

Bucharest BISERICA ORTODOXA ROMANA in Romanian No 3-4, Mar-Apr 80 pp 405-432

[Article by Dumitru Soare: "The Contribution of Patriarch Iustin to the Development of the Ecumenical Relations of the Romanian Orthodox Church"]

[Excerpts] The Catholic-Orthodox theological dialogue, recommended by the second Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes, has been the object of extensive studies on the part of our church leadership, especially as a result of the fact that this initiative coincided with the beginning of the Second Vatican Council which posed serious problems for Orthodoxy by the promulgation of the degrees on ecumenism and on the Eastern Catholic churches and the encyclical "Ecclesiam Suam."

In its work session of 29 October 1964, upon proposal of the church's foreign affairs commission, presided over by Metropolitan Iustin Moisescu of Moldavia and Suceava, the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church defined its position toward the problem of the theological dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, stating that this dialogue will not be possible before the renunciation by the Vatican of proselytism and Uniatism, as well as the adoption of a truly ecumenical attitude, reccomending, until then a collaboration in the field of practical Christianity between the two churches, within the World Council of Churches. Heading the delegation of the Romanian Orthodox Church to the Third Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes in 1964, our current patriarch firmly stressed the point of view, later adopted by the plenum of the conference, according to which it was deemed necessary that there be suitable preparation beforehand and the creation of practical conditions for the successful initiation of the proposed dialogue and until then, each autocephalous Orthodox church could initiate and maintain, on its own, relations with the Roman Catholic Church, carefully studying the question of the dialogue and communicating the results of its studies to the other sister Orthodox churches.

The Romanian Orthodox Church took note of the "dialogue of love," initiated between the Ecumenical Patriarch and Rome, but stressed that this does not commit all Orthodoxy. In its turn, it has established bilateral relations with various local Roman Catholic churches, such as that in Austria, in the FRG, in Belgium, etc, as well as with the Vatican's Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity. These contacts were for the purpose of better mutual knowledge, rapprochement, and collaboration between the churches and the development of a "dialogue of service" on the practical and social issues affecting contemporary mankind and they aimed at the preparation of a real dialogue.

The Romanian Orthodox Church has confirmed this attitude on various occasions such as inter-Orthodox or inter-Christian meetings, visits of church leaders, theological studies, etc.

On the occasion of a visit to the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1974, Metropolitan Iustin Moisescu, heading a delegation of the Romanian Orthodox Church, made it a point to clarify the position of all Orthodoxy in regard to the preparation of a dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, stating that this dialogue should be theological and as such it should be well prepared before it begins; it should be conceived and accepted only on the basis of equality, not as something from the "Church" to "separated brethren," or with pretentions for a "return to the stable"; an obstacle in the path of the dialogue is Uniatism, a typical example of proselytism, which Orthodoxy can never accept. The leader of the delegation of our church also endorsed the idea of the establishment of an inter-Orthodox theological technical commission for the preparation of the dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church.

By common agreement, the Orthodox churches established an inter-Orthodox technical commission which has met a number of times in the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarcate in Chambesy, Switzerland, working parallel with a similar Roman Catholic commission for the preparation of the Orthodox-Catholic theological dialogue. During these preparatory stages for the dialogue, Patriarch Iustin has shown special concern for the progress of the activity, giving suggestions and the necessary guidance, with a high sense of responsibility in regard to this important objective.

CSO: 2700

ROLE OF WORKING CLASS AS LEADING FORCE IN SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 80 pp 1-4

[Article by Dana Voinea: "The Working Class, the Ruling Class in Our Society"]

[Text] The dynamic picture of social transformations sketched in the more than three decades of socialist construction in our country permits one to make out the profound changes that have occurred in Romania's social structure and their implications for society as a whole and, at the same time, to discern the directions in which this structure is evolving under the action of the laws of the development of the new order.

What is discerned, as the most important process that has put its stamp on the whole social structure, decisively influencing Romania's progress, is the strong development--numerical and qualitative--of the working class, the ruling class of the whole populace. Against the background of the new social structure, of which the community of the basic interests and aspirations of the social classes and categories, the cohesion of society and the accentuation of social homogenization are characteristic, the size and percentage of the working class in the total population, especially in the total employed population, have grown, positive changes have occurred in the distribution of the workers according to branches of the national economy and within them, truly spectacular progress has been registered with regard to the qualifications of the workers, their political, technical and cultural level, and the conditions for the exercise by the working class of its leading role in society have been optimized by means of the new democratic structures created in recent years.

All these phenomena and processes find their most direct materialization in the decisive role that has gone and goes to the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the obtaining of the great achievements in a material and spiritual realm, in its firm involvement in attaining those objectives that will confer on Romania the traits of multilaterally developed socialism. These are realities that demonstrate the organizational power of the working class, its devotion to the cause of

socialism, its high consciousness and responsibility for the continual progress of our society.

One matter of great theoretical and practical significance in the socialist revolution and construction is that of the role that goes to the party, vanguard of the working class. Of course, the conditions existing in each country, the political, economic and social-historical characteristics, the degree of maturity of the social classes, of the working class in particular, have their say in the exercise of its role as a guiding political force of socialist construction and with regard to the concrete means of exercising this role.

In our country, as is known, the leading role of the Communist Party in the socialist revolution and construction is the natural result of the historical development of the Romanian people. The Romanian Communist Party was in the van of the struggle of the working masses to defeat the exploiting classes and turn to the forging of the new order, to gain national and social freedom, and today, by devising the strategy for development and carrying out the political, social, economic, organizational and ideological measures, the party is leading the whole populace in the creation of multilaterally developed socialism.

Naturally, the conducting of a work of such proportions has not been and is not without its difficulties, does not occur linearly, in ideal forms from the very beginning. Shortcomings caused by objective conditions, but also by subjective ones, had and have to be overcome, the solutions for dealing with many problems, with contradictions that appear in the process of forging a new social order, had and have to be thought-out and rethought-out. Moreover, the history of socialist construction, although young, shows that the failure to take into consideration the complexity of constructing the new order, to understand the contradictions and to resolve them in due time together with the working class, with the broad masses of people, in order to prevent any undesirable consequences, can lead to dysfunctionalities in the system and to the retardation of progress.

A result of historical evolution, the role of the Romanian Communist Party as a guiding force and the amplification of this role in proportion to the advance of socialism respond to a historical necessity, express in fact the capacity of the party as a vanguard of the class that has proved to be the main and most active bearer of social progress, as a political force that gives expression, through its program and activity, through what it initiates and achieves, to the interests of all the social classes and categories (workers, peasants, intellectuals, the other working people, regardless of nationality), to the vital interests of our socialist nation. At the same time, this role results objectively from the quality of the new order, radically different from the earlier ones, whose construction cannot be but the fruit of the conscious activity of the masses. This presupposes, above all, the creation of the democratic climate, of the institutions and laws capable of allowing the unhindered, responsible participation of all citizens in the devising and application of the decisions, in the whole process of social management. And the participation concerns, in particular, the working class, which, through the place that it occupies in the system of material production, through the degree of organization, through the level of political consciousness, has a decisive contribution to the development of the technical-material base of society, to the improvement of social relations, of sociopolitical and state life in general, is the steady bearer of the ideal of socialism and communism that it is establishing in Romania, in a lasting unity of interests and action with the country's other social forces.

Stressing the importance of the affirmation of the leading role of the working class in socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The working class, which overthrew the old order divided into antagonistic classes, which abolished the exploiting classes and assumed the responsibility of forging a classless society, must assume the role of acting directly to attain this objective. This is /the basic problem for socialist construction/ [in italics] (our italics). We cannot be content only with the thesis that the working class fulfills its role through those to whom it gives a mandate. It is good in this way too, but it is even better, even more necessary for the workers to participate directly in leadership."

Of course, the growth of the leading role of the working class does not mean at all to counterpose the workers to the other social classes and categories or to diminish in any way the significance of the participation of the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all citizens of the country in the process of social advance. On the contrary, the community of the basic interests, the unity of the goals and aspirations cause the affirmation of the leading role of the working class to lead to the closer and closer knitting of the alliance and collaboration between workers, peasants, intellectuals and other social categories, to their participation together, headed by the working class, in governing our society, under the leadership of the Communist Party. This view of our party with regard to the management of socialist construction has marked out and marks out the whole activity of organizing and improving the economic and social mechanism, with its main axis, the expansion of socialist democracy, which the party's program proclaims "an essential factor and an objective necessity in forging the multilaterally developed socialist society."

The facts attest that the expansion of socialist democracy, the continual improvement of the organizational and institutional framework for participation by the working class, by the masses in the management of economic and social life, constitutes a characteristic trait of the evolution of Romanian society. There exists today a united system of bodies, forms and means of action for the exercise of leadership by the working people, a system of which there is characteristic the harmonious combining of participation through representatives--elected and recallable--with direct, immediate participation in the forums for decisionmaking, execution and control along the whole hierarchical ladder. The dominant tendency consists of the growth of the direct participation in leadership, taking into account the changes occurring in the material base, in social relations, in the spiritual profile of the masses. In this regard there are distinguished the closeness of political, economic and administrative management to production and, in general, to concrete social activity; the expansion of the powers and autonomy of the enterprises, the organization and operation of them on the basis of the principle of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration; the more and more important place that the general assemblies and the councils of the working people, their commissions for fields, the commissions for worker control of economic and social activity, the trade unions and the other public organizations in the enterprises occupy in the management of the economic and social units; the improvement of the organizational structure, of the framework for operating the state apparatus and, in this context, the growth of the role of the people's councils; the growth of the activity of the mass and public organizations in the system of democracy in our society; the organization of national congresses and conferences according to fields and branches of activity; the development of the public forms of discussion of the main political and social problems, of the draft laws and decisions; the improvement of the functioning of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity, the widest and most

representative body of our democracy, the creation of the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity.

It is an essential reality that, along with the improvement of the organizational framework, the participation of the working class in the management of society has become more and more comprehensive, and the quality of the social and political management has constantly improved. Perhaps this fact appears the most visibly in the activity of the general assemblies, bodies in which worker self-management most directly asserts itself. The general assemblies of the working people that discussed and approved each unit's 1981 plan, and the unified program of measures that should provide for its implementation, offer a graphic example. The confronting of the opinions, the open and reasoned way in which the working people expressed their opinions in connection with the activity of the unit as a whole and their own activity, and the competence and responsibility with which the shortcomings were analyzed and proposals for increasing production by utilizing the internal resources in terms of greater efficiency were advanced represented a constant in these assemblies.

The concerns themselves of these bodies have acquired, to a large extent, a new quality, in the sense of their more and more decided orientation toward discussing and solving alike the main economic problems, as well as those that involve the work and life of the people. The way in which the social funds under the administration of the enterprises were used, in which the obligations put in the collective agreements by the two partners--the trade union and the enterprise--were fulfilled, was examined carefully during the many general assemblies. It thus appeared more clearly than ever that the expansion of the leadership of the working class over social services and sectors is becoming more and more an understood necessity, an everyday reality.

The measures and decisions adopted in regard to the concrete tasks that devolve upon each staff from the sole national plan must be pointed out in particular. Their ever better quality reflects with great expressiveness the fact that the working class and the working people understand more and more clearly the responsibility that devolves upon them as owners of the means of production for properly managing the part of national wealth that has been entrusted to them for administration, the direct relationship between the growth of this wealth and the well-being of each, the objective convergence between the basic interests of society, of the units in which they work and of their own.

But things are not going like this everywhere. As social practice shows, those cases in which the activity of the democratic bodies is void of its true content are not few. Formalism is still manifested in selecting the problems that must be discussed and solved. The agenda of the collective leadership bodies is often confined to minor aspects, in the jurisdiction of well-defined administrative sectors, to the detriment of the economic problems that must be solved promptly, as well as of those referring to the working and living conditions of the people. In some places, the constructive criticism of the workers is not heeded. In others, insufficient information causes the discussions to be formal. Remnants of the old style of management, visible especially in the exercise of true petty tutelage by some higher-ranking bodies, combined with the replacement of direct, live labor by circulars, instructions, true heaps of paper, still persist also. Such bureaucratic practices are of a nature to proliferate conformism, redtape, laziness in thinking, to nip any initiative, any creative idea in the bud.

Such phenomena are all so many manifestations of the contradiction that appears between the possibilities of participation in leadership by the working class, by all those who work, that the widely democratic institutionalized framework offers and the way in which these possibilities are materialized. The surmounting of this contradiction, the reconciliation of the possible with the real, represents, of course, a process in which are involved practically all the deliberative leadership bodies, from top to bottom, in fact the whole working class, all the working people, to whom, along with the right to participate in solving the problems that concern the present and future of our society, there goes, in relation to the division of labor, the responsibility for implementing the decisions adopted.

The trade unions, which contain in their ranks the working class in its entirety, all worker personnel, occupy a leading place in the democratic structures through which the workers exercise their leadership in our society. Through their composition, through the manner of organization, through the powers with which they have been invested, the trade unions can have a substantial contribution to improving worker self-management and self-administration, to increasing the participation of the working class in managing the enterprises and other state economic organizations, in solving the great problems that the advance of our society raises. This implies on the part of the trade unions steady actions that would provide for the faultless functioning of the institutionalized democratic forms in the economic and social units, as well as of their own organizational framework. At the same time, through the representatives in the bodies of state power, in the leadership of the ministries, central and local institutions, and enterprises, the trade unions, preserving their autonomy as a mass organization, have their say, on behalf of the working class, of the millions of members that they contain, about the problems under discussion, participate directly in devising and adopting the decisions referring to the economic and social development of the country, to the improvement of the working and living conditions of the citizens.

The concern that the trade unions act to make known steadily and consistently the way of thinking of the working class, so that the workers in production, the working people present in various collective leadership bodies can participate actively, are heard and have their say about all the problems that concern the development of our socialist homeland, is of great importance for the exercise by the trade unions of their role in the system of worker democracy in our country.

This reflects in fact the new social reality, the conditions for putting the man-man and man-society relations on a new basis, as an expression of the harmony between the basic interests of the social classes and categories. At the same time, there are social interests that do not always coincide, as contradictions appear between the short-term interests and the long-term ones, between the general interests of society and those of the subsystems that compose it, between the interests of a social class viewed as an entity and those of the individuals taken separately. Acting so that in all the democratic bodies the working class may express an authorized viewpoint, which would weigh heavily in adopting the decisions, the trade unions act in the direction of harmonizing all sorts of interests in the most useful way for the progress of society, so that the danger of the transformation of contradictions into social conflicts may be eliminated.

In this spirit, the theses of the Central Council of the UGSR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] for eliminating the shortcomings from the work of the trade

unions and improving their activity contain a whole series of duties and responsibilities. They involve the matter of fulfilling in an optimal way the tasks that devolve upon them as participants in the promotion of worker self-management and self-administration, the growth of their role in the mobilization of the working people to exemplarily fulfill the plans for economic and social development of the country and the program for continually raising the quality of life, in cultural, educational and athletic activity, in the implementation of the international policy of our party and state. Thus, the improvement of the activity of the trade unions means the creation of more favorable premises for the affirmation of the working class in its capacity of ruling class, for the stronger imparting of its fighting, militant, innovative spirit to the whole social organism.

Romania's development in the next five-year period and in the whole ninth decade will cause, of course, new changes of a quantitative and qualitative order within the working class, with repercussions on its position and leading role in our society. In correlation with the transformations in the economy's structure, with the wide promotion of the gains of the scientific and technical revolution, the number of workers and their percentage in the total employed population will increase further, which will mark the strengthening of the working-class social basis of state power.

The working class in our country is a relatively young class whose ranks have been expanded in the last three decades in particular by other social classes and categories, especially the peasantry. Of course, this phenomenon is positive in all respects, but it must be taken into consideration in social, political and educational activity, since the new workers coming from the villages have for a time mentalities and behavior characteristic of the milieu in which they lived and, in general, their professional and cultural level is lower. Likewise, it is necessary to take into account the fact that, along with the growing homogenization of Romanian society, with the rise in the population's level of culture through the generalization of mandatory education for 10 years and, in the not too remote future, for 12 years, such phenomena are decreasing in importance. But this cannot justify at all any undervaluing of cultural and educational work.

A contribution to strengthening the leading role of the working class will be made by improving its internal structure, in the sense of increasing the number of workers in the most dynamic sectors of industry, equipped with first-rate technology, concomitant with raising their professional level and increasing the percentage of brainwork in the activity that they perform. The promotion of new technology in the other sectors of the national economy will also operate to the same effect.

The examination of the changes that will occur in the working class and of their effects on its capacity for leadership cannot be separated from the deciphering of the concept of "worker." In contemporary Marxist thought, interesting arguments have been raised to support the necessity of revising the classic concept of "worker." Indeed, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, of the transformation of science into a direct production force, the concept of worker is becoming more comprehensive, including as well some categories of the technical telligentsia. A greater and greater number of cooperative peasants in our country are practicing specifically working-class trades, thus coming closer to the professional profile of the workers. However, here the form of ownership and remuneration places them within the peasantry. The situation of a not at all negligible number

of persons from villages with a dual status--of peasants and workers--is more complicated. For the most part, the status of worker (at least with regard to practicing the profession), which is often transformed gradually into the only status, prevails in these cases.

In view of these realities, as well as others that appear in the complex process of changes that are occurring in the composition of the working class, in its level of culture, in its technical training, in general, in its way of life, the more careful and concrete delimitation of the concept of worker and its used in research in the field of the social sciences would offer a more faithful reflection of our society's class structure, of the place that the working class occupies within this structure, would offer the possibility of formulating better-substantiated options and strategies regarding the evolution of the workers in close correlation with social progress as a whole.

The active and effective participation of the working class in leadership and the affirmation of creativity as a leading value of the individual and the collectivity imply, of course, the further development of factors of a technical-material and organizational order. At present, as experience shows, this process depends above all on man, on his political and professional training, on his degree of culture, on his consciousness as a member of a society that, providing "human emancipation," creates those material and spiritual premises meant to grant increasingly to man the possibility of benefiting from the entire legacy of values gained by mankind in the course of history and, together with his fellow men, to assume deliberately the responsibility for rapid and constant social progress.

Socialist Romania's successes are the best proof of the growth of the capacity of the working class to manage the process of erecting the new order. However, the objective course of history is complicating more and more the activity of managing the economic and social processes. The dimensions of the national economy, of the economic, political and cultural activities, are increasing and, implicitly, the responsibility for performing them in an optimal way is increasing. Through the extremely rapid rate of the changes that it is causing in science and technology and hence in social life, the scientific and technical revolution, too, is raising enormously the complexity of the decisionmaking process, but it also offers possibilities for the adoption of correct and rapid decisions. This explains the overwhelming importance that, today more than yesterday and tomorrow more than today, is attached to the understanding of the laws of social development by the working class, by all members of society, their good professional, cultural, political and ideological training, the matter of being disposed to the new and creativity, the ability to combine in the most rational way the needs of the present with those of the future, to evaluate with all possible responsibility the different alternatives of progress in order to select the one that can provide for the attainment of the intended goal in the most efficient way. These are a few of the reasons that place in the forefront the necessity of continually raising the level of consciousness and knowledge of the working class, of the other social classes and categories.

It is true that through the elimination of the exploiting classes and the great economic and social inequalities, through the progress in a material and spiritual realm, our socialist society possesses real possibilities for the process of socialist education of the masses to occur at such a rate that the advance not only is not hindered but also is facilitated. But it is just as true that this process does not

occur spontaneously, automatically. Its scope, its area of inclusion depend for the most part, as social practice shows, on the Communist Party's capacity to fulfill its role as a guiding political force, to establish the means and forms of activity in its own ranks, as well as in the relations with the state bodies, with the other public organizations, with the broad masses of people, taking into consideration to a high degree the fact that socialism, by its nature, is an order created by the people, for the people, an order whose supreme goal is the material and spiritual well-being of all citizens.

Defining the role of our party, of its bodies and organisations, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the speech at the plenum of the RCP Central Committee in October 1980 that this role "...consists precisely of ensuring the union of the efforts of the masses of people, of discussing with them and of acting in close unity, as a unit, to forge socialism and communism in Romania." From this comes the fact that the party bodies and the communists do not and cannot have other rights or privileges than all those who work have. The rights are equal for all citizens of the homeland, regardless of their membership or nonmembership in the Romanian Communist Party, regardless of nationality, regardless of whether they are young or old, male or female. However, the communists have greater duties because they have willingly assumed the responsibility of fighting against social and national inequalities, for a new, better order, for a society of social equality and justice, in which the principles of socialist ethics and equity may have the widest field of affirmation.

Conceived in such a view, the political leadership by the party is exercised not through administrative methods, not from outside, but through the party's integration into social life, through the faultless, competent and responsible behavior of the communists at their workplace and in private life, through the closer and closer connection of the party bodies and organizations with the working people. A special importance is attached to the intensification of the political, ideological and cultural work for generally raising the socialist consciousness of the working people, so that the working class and eventually all citizens regard as an acute necessity their effective participation in solving the problems with which our society is confronted and possess the knowledge needed for deciding in the most efficient way, adopt the party's policy as their own policy and militate steadily to implement it precisely.

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TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCE BETHLEN HONORED ON 400TH BIRTHDAY

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[Article by C. Paul, doctor of history: "400 Years Since the Birth of Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen"]

[Text] This year, 4 centuries have passed since the birth of Gabriel Bethlen, one of the most famous princes of Transylvania. A brave fighter, an astute politician, a skilled diplomat, a wise administrator of the state's property and finances, a protector of the professions and commerce, a lover of the arts and culture, but especially, and above all, a stubborn fighter for the independence of the native land, Transylvania--at that time an autonomous principality, with mostly a Romanian population--and, militating for closeness between Romanians, Hungarians and Saxons, he merits respect from posterity.

Gabriel Bethlen was descended from the family of minor noble Farcas Bethlen, from the area of Timis in Banat, who distinguished himself in the defensive battles in the border cities against the Ottoman invaders. Spending his childhood in Ilia and then in Lazarea, he learned Romanian at an early age, displaying an understanding, which he did not forsake for his whole life, of Transylvania's Romanian population, deprived of all rights at that time and leading a wretched life. At the age of 14 years he was made an usher in the prince's court of Sigismund Bathory in Alba Iulia. In 1595, he accompanied the esteemed fighter Stefan Bocskay on a mission to Prague, to confirm Transylvania's adherence to the anti-Ottoman league initiated by Emperor Rudolph II. This alliance, expanded also by the inclusion of Moldavia and Wallachia, acquired its entire significance and effectiveness from the brilliant victories gained along the Danube by Michael the Brave, architect of the victories gained by the league over the Porte. In the fall of the same year, after the temporary withdrawal to Transylvania, Michael the Brave rebuilt his forces, with the armed support given by Prince Sigismund Bathory and by Stefan Razvan of Moldavia, and began a ferocious counteroffensive for the liberation of Wallachia, succeeding in driving Sinan's invading hordes beyond the Danube. Within the Transylvanian contingent, along with Stefan Bocskay, the young Gabriel Bethlen also distinguished himself by his bravery, thus having the first direct contact with Wallachia, a principality with which he was to be linked later by a close alliance.

Bethlen distinguished himself in the anti-Ottoman theater of war at the end of the 16th century and the start of the next one, but he soon discovered bitterly that the Hapsburg Empire, far from being a loyal ally, supporting the liberation of the

Romanian countries from the authority of the Ottomans, intended to take the place of the Porte and invade these countries. This was why he basically changed his mind, offering his assistance to the anti-Hapsburg insurrectional forces, helping Stefan Bocskay to occupy the throne of Transylvania (1605) and to oust Basta.

The same reasons caused him to fight against the prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Bathory, attracted toward the end of his rule into the orbit of the Hapsburgs, who had not abandoned for an instant their old intentions of subjugating the province. Condemned to death and to confiscation of property for his attitude (1613), Bethlen saw no other solution than to overthrow Bathory and take the country's reins in hand. In this action he was helped by the Turks and by the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively Radu Mihnea and Stefan Tomsa II, who each sent an armed contingent to his aid. On 23 October 1613, the Diet convened in Cluj selected Gabriel Bethlen as prince of Transylvania.

The political line by which Bethlen was guided during his rule was determined by the decision to keep peace with the Turks--but keeping them at a distance, so that they would not meddle overmuch in the principality's affairs--and, especially, to maintain the closest relations with Wallachia and Moldavia, with which Transylvania constituted an entity. In his time, Transylvania possessed autonomy, under the Porte's suzerainty, having a regime similar to those in the sister Romanian countries beyond the Carpathians.

On a domestic plane, Bethlen consolidated his rule by means of a series of measures meant to put an end to the state of anarchy and chaos inherited from his predecessors, to restrict the prerogatives of the nobles, who promoted their own political policy--often contrary to the country's interests--and benefited from many privileges of a nature to undermine the prince's authority. Bethlen proceeded to restrict the prerogatives of the Diet, dominated by the high nobles, and, at the same time, he took steps to limit their economic power, compelling them to return to the state many of the princely estates in Oradea, Gurghiu, Deva, Blaj, Gherla, Fagaras and so on. In ruling the country, the prince relied on the middle class of the small landowners and of the ennobled soldiers, recruited particularly from the Szeklers, on the production forces of society, on the cityfolk (artisans and merchants), on the Calvinist clergy. Through the measures against the nobiliary abuses, he also attracted, likewise, the collaboration of the wealthy Saxon strata.

Gabriel Bethlen consolidated the state's power by organizing an efficient administration. The privileges of the nobles with regard to the exploitation of raw materials, especially salt, were canceled. Mining prospecting was intensified and the production of goods on the Transylvanian market was increased and diversified. On his orders, skilled Italian master glassblowers were brought from Venice to Porumbacu, in the region of Fagaras, to produce crystal. Brickmasons, carpenters, joiners, stonemasons, sculptors and tailors of velvet were brought from Italy, Germany and Poland. Foreign trade, too, was encouraged.

Transylvania's economic relations with Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as with the Ottoman Empire, Austria, Poland, Germany, Holland, England, France, Spain and Italy, were developed in this era, with the prince granting to companies (agents) of merchants the right to practice trade. Besides natives, foreigners were also allowed among the merchants, especially Levantines, Greeks, Armenians, Macedonian Romanians and Jews. Regarding the Jews, Gabriel Bethlen took a downright revolutionary step

for that era of intolerance and fanaticism that prevailed in the majority of the European countries. He allowed them to no longer wear distinctive clothing to distinguish them from the rest of the inhabitants and treated them with kindness, providing them with security of trade and goods and relieving them of the payment of excessive taxes. As a result of the prosperous financial situation, the prince carried out intense minting activity. Thus, in the mints in Cluj, Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Baia Mare and, occasionally, the cities ruled by him for a while in Slovakia and Silesia, large quantities of coins were issued. To discourage profiteering and dishonesty, Bethlen resorted to the so-called "limitations" (limitationes), a sort of "market pricelist" that regulated not only the prices of the goods but also the methods of selling them.

Gabriel Bethlen carried out intense construction activity, erecting or restoring palaces and cities. Three bastions in the city of Alba Iulia, the bastion that bears his name in Cluj, and the city of Oradea were erected during his reign. The old fortresses in Gherla, Deva, Gurghiu, Blaj and Fagaras were built up. Likewise, the prince also concerned himself with strengthening the army, having in mind the dangers from outside, on the part of the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires. He organized a strong army for his time, formed mostly of mercenaries, and when he needed larger forces, in some military campaigns that he undertook, the prince requested the direct support of the counties in the principality and of the friendly Romanian rulers.

Regarding Bethlen's policy in the field of education and culture, the most important achievement was the creation of the renowned academic college in Alba Iulia in 1622, where world-famous scholars taught. An extensive library and a princely printing house were also founded in Alba Iulia. The number of schools was increased and, by means of a special order in 1624, the Diet decided to penalize with a fine of 100 ducats the nobles who would have kept the sons of serfs from education. A great musiclover, the prince brought to Alba Iulia the best organists in Vienna and Germany, as well as other musicians. As chronicler Kraus declared admiringly, "Gabriel Bethlen earned undying fame for himself throughout the world by means of the above-mentioned things and by means of ingenious works of art, for which he incurred incalculable expenses."

The policy conducted by Bethlen with regard to the nationalities in Transylvania and especially, of course, the Romanians, who formed the majority of the principality's population, ought to be mentioned in particular. His attitude toward the latter is indicated to us by many sources of the time. Thus, on 31 July 1617, the prince ordered: "Do not force the poor in the Romanian villages in the region of Bistrita to pay, contrary to their old freedoms and customs, any sort of quitrent, do not dare to harm them in their person and property, but...keep them unharmed in all their freedoms." On 11 May 1625, learning that the Romanian serfs in Besinau had little land to till, Bethlen gave them, for a while, a piece of the fallow land of the serfs in the neighboring village, Berea, with the right to plow, to sow and to pay the proper quitrent for that place.

Observing all these things, it must be noted that the prince did not surpass in all respects the positions of his predecessors on the problem of nationalities. He based his policy on the union of the three nationalities--Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers--and did not restore to the Romanians their political rights that their situation as the majority people required. This so-called "holy understanding" of the three nationalities had a detrimental role for the majority of Transylvania's population, that is, for the Romanians.

The attitude of understanding displayed, in general, by Bethlen toward the Romanians in Transylvania can also be explained, in part, by his policy of closeness to the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia—Transylvania's natural allies--with which he constantly tried to maintain the closest ties. Right at his selection as prince in 1613, with the support of Romanian rulers Radu Mihnea and Stefan Tomsa II, Bethlen "shook hands with the two vaivodes," a source of the time declares, "and they swore that they would be brothers to one another and they would not forsake one another unto death." In times of tribulation for Wallachia, under the Ottoman Empire's relentless pressure, Moldavia and Transylvania represented reliable support. So, for instance, Bethlen supported the accession to power by Gavrilas Movila, at whose urging, on 8 July 1618 in Tirgoviste, the leading boyars on the prince's council, together with the metropolitan, the bishops, country squires and troopers in the military corps, swore to the Transylvanian prince "to all be friends" and, if enemies were to attack "the country of Transylvania," "to lend assistance and to side with the king (prince--our note) and with the whole country of Transylvania." This document of great political importance, pointing out the need that Transylvania felt to rely on Wallachia in defending against any attack from outside, was written in the Romanian language, with a Hungarian translation, thus constituting the first diplomatic document composed in our ancestral tongue. The good relations between Transylvania and Wallachia were also established formally by means of the treaty of alliance concluded in terms of perfect equality on 20 May 1619 in Alba Iulia.

Bethlen also maintained such good relations with Moldavia. Thus, on 26 September 1617, the Transylvanian prince and Prince Radu Mihnea concluded in Soroca a document by means of which they swore to help one another in case of need. Venetian traveler Polo Minio attested in 1620 that Bethlen "tried to obtain the good will of the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia, his neighbors, treating with them through deputations of great integrity and especially with Prince Graziani," to whom "he gave a loan of 5,000 sequins." We cannot but notice that Prince Bethlen continued to make use of the attempt made by Michael the Brave to unite the forces of the three Romanian countries in order to be able to handle with a greater chance of success the expansionist plans of the great powers of the time. Maintaining close relations with Wallachia and Moldavia, the Transylvania ruled by Bethlen was able to limit the Ottoman Porte's interference in its internal affairs and to obtain the suspension of tribute for years in succession.

Relying on the good relations that he maintained with the Turks, Bethlen sought his own political objectives, and especially to consolidate the situation of Transylvania, threatened by the velleities of the Hapsburgs in central Europe. Taking advantage of the insurrection of the Czechs in the summer of 1618, Bethlen sent to Prague his emissary, Romanian noble Marco, to conclude an alliance with them against the imperials. On this occasion, in order to attract more to their cause, the rebels offered Bethlen the crown of Bohemia. He received the idea enthusiastically, hoping to unite Bohemia with the rest of his possessions in Transylvania and other areas. Although the plan failed, with Frederick V being proclaimed king, Prince Bethlen did not appear disappointed and maintained the alliance with rebel Bohemia in the common struggle against the House of Austria. The military successes of Prince Bethlen and his allies led, in turn, to the conquest of a large number of towns and cities in Hungary and Slovakia, with their troops even reaching the walls of Vienna in November 1619.

On the basis of the conquests made, Gabriel Bethlen also proclaimed himself "king of Hungary" on 25 August 1620. Ruling in fact only a small part of this country, he

sought more by means of the respective act to consolidate his prestige in the eyes of the allies. But the categorical defeat of the rebels in the battle of the White Mountain (8 November 1620) by the imperial armies caused the Transylvanian prince to conclude with the Hapsburgs the peace treaty of Mikulov (6 January 1622), by means of which he renounced the Hungarian crown, receiving in exchange possession of the conquered counties for life, two duchies in Silesia and subsidies for defending the border cities. In this way, the prestige and the political and military power of Transylvania--restored to the borders of 1541--grew considerably, placing the principality among the influential states in central Europe. With the Ottoman Porte's consent, he participated--in certain phases (1621, 1624, 1626)--in "the Thirty Years' War" with the Hapsburgs, gaining for the principality of Transylvania European recognition and great prestige among the peoples in the center and southeast of the continent.

Bethlen's last attempts to consolidate Transylvania's political and diplomatic position in the conflict with the Hapsburgs occurred after his remarriage, with Protestant Princess Catherine of Brandenburg (1625). This matrimonial alliance brought him closer to the powers in northwestern Europe--England, Denmark and Holland--which had even concluded an agreement at The Hague (9 December 1625) against the House of Austria. Bethlen requested the principality's admittance to the agreement and, to this end, even sent an emissary to the court of the king of England, Charles I Stuart. After long negotiations, the allies accepted Transylvania's inclusion in the agreement, this being the first diplomatic manifestation of vast proportions known by the small autonomous principality in central Europe. But, on this occasion too, luck proved unfavorable to Bethlen, who had to again make peace with the imperials (20 December 1626), by means of the agreement of Bratislava, which reconfirmed the earlier "status quo."

Bethlen's military and diplomatic actions were not limited just to involving Transylvania in the Thirty Years' War with the Hapsburgs. Toward the end of his reign, in 1627, trying to follow Stefan Bathory's example, he prepared to occupy the throne of Poland. In order to attain this goal, he showed himself disposed to conclude an alliance with the czar of Russia, relying at the same time on a group in Poland that was favorable to him. The prince's death, in 1629, put an end to this endeavor with a very small chance of success.

A special historical significance is attached to Gabriel Bethlen's ideas regarding the revival of the act of union of the three Romanian principalities--Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia--into a single state, a union achieved a few decades earlier, in 1600, by Michael the Brave, but, of course, under other historical conditions and starting from quite different premises. Bethlen's plan of achieving the greater Dacia was based, undoubtedly, on the understanding of the reality of the unity of descent, language and customs of the Romanians on the two sides of the Carpathians, of the strong and long economic, political, cultural and other ties existing between them, materialized, over the centuries, in many common actions in defense of freedom, ethnic being and independent development.

Counting on his close relations with Moldavia and Wallachia and relying on the support that the Romanians in Transylvania would be able, eventually, to offer him, Bethlen undertook in this regard a series of diplomatic probes, resulting, however, in total failure. According to the testimony of the contemporary scurces, of which the most significant proves to be the account of Cardinal Petru Pazmany, from

December 1627, Bethlen approached the Ottoman Porte in order to obtain the union of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia into a "kingdom of Dacia" under his scepter. Firmly convinced that the support of the province's majority population, that is, of the Romanian was indispensable for the success of his plan, he tried to uplift them on a political and confessional plane, so that they would constitute the bond and the element for attracting their conational in Wallachia and Moldavia to such a state union. The prince tried, but without success, to convert the former to Calvinism, in the hope of founding a Protestant monarchy, guaranteed by the Reformed powers in Europe.

The importance accorded by Bethlen to the Romanian reality of the three principalities--Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania--and to the strong centripetal tendencies existing in this reality was connected with his anti-Catholic attitude and that hostile to the interests of the Hungarian magnates, which he displayed in many of the political actions undertaken during his reign. Thus, as Romanian historian Ioan Lupas observed, "There was founded during Bethlen's reign a Transylvanian sovereignty with a marked Protestant flavor and with an evident character hostile to 'the sacred Hungarian crown,' whose theory had been scraped together, in the opinion of Szekfu Gyula, over the centuries by the exclusive means of the Catholic Church."

Bethlen's plan of reviving a "kingdom of Dacia" did not enter, for easily understandable reasons, into the calculations of the Ottoman Porte, which--regardless of conditions--would have had nothing to gain from the repetition of the Union of 1600. Consequently, the probes undertaken by the representatives of the prince among the high officials of the sultan did not go beyond the phase of cautious feelers.

Despite the futile monarchical aspirations that brought only disappointment to Prince Bethlen, his rule--ceasing on 15 November 1629--ended in notable political results, since he succeeded in transforming Transylvania from a poor and war-torn country into a thriving principality with stable finances and a competent administration, with secure borders and with great political prestige on an international level.

Bethlen judged rightly that Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia constituted an entity and could only exist united, mobilizing all their available forces for the common prosperity. He realized that the Romanians, who represented the basic population of Transylvania, lived in the closest relations with their conationals beyond the Carpathians, constituting support only for those governors who conducted a policy of closeness between the three Romanian countries. Consequently, he also tried to always maintain the closest ties with Wallachia and Moldavia.

For his merits as a wise and progressive prince of Transylvania, who raised its power, culture and prestige to a European level, for his realistic attitude toward the Transylvanian Romanians and the concern for uniting the forces of the three sister Romanian principalities, the memory of Gabriel Bethlen, one of the illustrious figures of the homeland's history, possesses great reverence among our people.

Hundreds of years have passed since the recalled events. In this interval of time, marked by much and strong social and national unrest, Transylvania experienced trials of all sorts, continuing to play a leading role within the process of formation of the Romanian nation, of affirmation of the Romanian people's aspirations of freedom, unity and independence. The long, common traditions of economic, political and

spiritual life of the Romanians in Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia were constantly enriched with significant aspects of collaboration and unity on many planes, finding a brilliant finalization in the great union accomplished, through the decision of the whole Romanian populace, on 1 December 1918.

The whole evolution of our national history over the centuries demonstrates that the act of Alba Iulia constituted the result of the determined will and struggle of the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians, whose united actions made possible the fulfillment of their millennial aspirations.

Socialism has intensified the unified national-state framework of existence of the Romanian people with new, qualitative elements, among which the establishment of the political power of the working class, the institution of the whole populace's ownership of the means of production, and the providing of full equality in rights to all citizens--regardless of nationality--stand in the forefront. The new order has provided full equality in rights for all citizens of the country--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities--has opened up wide horizons for manifestation of the creative energies of our people, for affirmation of their predisposition toward peace, independent development, in good understanding and collaboration with all peoples of the world. Closely united around the Romanian Communist Party, the working people in our country--regardless of nationality--are continually increasing their efforts to implement the decisions of the 12th congress, to forge the multilaterally developed socialist society and raise the homeland to new heights of civilization, progress and well-being.

12105
CSO: 2700

WORKERS DISCUSS TV DRAMA ON STRIKES

Zagreb SEDAM DANA (supplement to VJESNIK) in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Nino Pavic: "The Important Thing Is That We Be Allowed To Make Mistakes"]

> [Text] Work stoppages are mainly the subject matter of politicians, sociologists, psychologists or economists; least of all of those whom they most concern--the workers. We organized a discussion between the author and director of the TV drama "Stoppage in Strojna" with workers of the Steam Boiler Factory in Zagreb.

Though we write doctoral dissertations and serious analyses about our strikes or work stoppages, and the Federation of Trade Unions debates these incidents at short intervals, it still seems that the usual thing is to pretend that they actually do not exist. How otherwise can we explain the fact that TV, the radio and press do not carry reports on major work stoppages, nor reports from meetings of sociopolitical organizations when they are debating a particular stoppage? To be sure, in Slovenia it has become an established tradition for stoppages to be recorded in the newspapers among the brief news items, without comment, but that only confirms our considerable embarrassment about this topic.

That is precisely why the recent showing of the first Yugoslav TV drama about strikes was more a political event than a TV or "artistic" event. It probably would be difficult to find even one TV critic who failed to review "Stoppage in Strojna" by Lovric and Bosnjak. But very few were concerned with the directing or the acting. No one dealt with the obvious oversimplification of the characters or the uncomplicated nature of the heroes' conflicts in this drama. As though this had already become a general accepted achievement of a new genre--the "worker" drama. Attention was focused on the very fact of TV portrayal of a strike. This "game involving the truth" was particularly intensified after the question put as a delegate by Petar Sitvuk, manager of "3 maj" [Shipyard] in Rijeka and a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. The topic of "Stoppage in Strojna" moved from the reviewer's pages to the political

pages of the newspaper. Since Sitvuk's question "smacked" of a demand for a ban and still more rigorous caution toward similar projects in future, everyone recalled the intervention by the republic trade union which was followed by removal of Klaric's TV series "Full Steam Ahead" from the screen.

Sympathy for the broaching of still another "taboo topic" was mixed with fear of some new and unpopular ban or attempt to confine the right to speak about self-management and therefore strikes exclusively to politicians, sociologists, psychologists or economists, omitting those whom all this together most affects--the workers, especially those who are involved in work stoppages.

On Behalf of the Delegate Base?

Our office has received several letters from readers about "Stoppage in Strojna." Aside from gratification at the fact that TV [Zagreb] decided to show the drama, hardly anyone failed to say a few words about the delegate's question. Thus Baldo Brbora of 81 Ivo Vojnovic Street in Dubrovnik, writes: "I do not hold it against the comrade for having put this question in the [Croatian] Assembly. The more questions that are put to the chambers of the Assembly the better. But let him not be concerned about the party members and working people where he comes from, who are in a quandary according to what Comrade Sitvuk said in VJESNIK on 21 November. Party members and self-managers are in no quandary about this. We have been building self-management for 30 years now, and we must name names on the TV screen of those who are holding back the advance of self-management and who are betraying the confidence of the LCY. If there were no bureaucrats, technocrats and big spenders, there would be no need for TV dramas like this."

Antun Vrcek of 19 Skolska Street in Osijek is rather restrictive and does not believe in Delegate Sitvuk's good intentions:

"The important thing to know is in whose name he put the delegate's query. Then we would obtain information as to who is deliberately standing in the way of the truth and preventing it from becoming public on the pretext 'this does not portray the real condition of our self-managed society.' I would like to know if any delegate has ever been criticized or removed for taking a subjective point of view, or do we change them only when they do not respond to calls, but most frequently only because of the lack of a quorum. The delegate referred to ought out of self-criticism to give up his place to someone else who would put those queries which concern the base--problems of municipal transport, the supply of food or bribes and corruption. He and people like him must realize that people are actively demanding programs of this kind in which the truth is presented on their behalf. This is one of the ways in which the workers express what in meetings of the bodies of self-management they conceal behind silence."

That is Comrade Vrcek's opinion. It would be difficult to agree with all his assertions and demands, but this letter can be taken as a warning that there are reasons to deal more fundamentally with the issues raised by "Stoppage in Strojna." We wanted to go to the "3 maj" Shipyard, to the work force where Petar Sitvuk is employed, and to organize a discussion between the drama's authors and director with the workers in that collective. Where criticism of the drama had been made through their delegate.

Neither the authors nor the delegate in the Assembly liked the idea. Mirko Bosnjak and Jelena Lovric did not want a confrontation with the delegate, who, in their opinion, has every right to put the query in the Assembly. Comrade Petar Sitvuk, on the other hand, has been unhappy because of the publicity his query was given. After consultations with the trade union and party organizations at "3 maj," he suggested that we talk to the leaders of the League of Communists, the trade union and the Socialist Youth League. However, we wanted to talk with producers in the workplace.

We went to the "Tool and Machine Production" OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] of the Steam Boiler Factory in Zagreb. We talked with some 20 direct producers, most of them skilled and highly skilled workers, with their party and trade union leaders, and with their directors.... Along with the author Mirko Bosnjak, who is also a member of the Presidium of the Zagreb City SAWP Conference, and the director Berislav Makarovic, we wanted to hear their first impressions and second thoughts about "Stoppage ...," their reactions, and whether in the problems of the workers in "Strojna" they also recognize their own problems. Finally, we wanted to hear whether the workers in this OOUR felt a need for more television projects of this kind.

Conflicts Because of Opportunism

Josip Vrbanic: "There always have been and there always will be strikes, regardless of how they are called. In our OOUR there have not been any, but we know that the workers, especially the young ones, are having a hard time exercising their rights. In those difficult moments when problems arise, a man is in a state of revolt and cannot precisely judge what is good for him and what isn't. I feel that one should not undertake a work stoppage, since we all suffer from it. People do not work, income cannot be earned.... I think that we can always go through normal channels, but I know that there are places where that doesn't work."

Stjepan Mihinica: "Every enterprise can see at least one part of itself in the drama 'Stoppage in Strojna.' I think that everything is accurately portrayed, though, of course, it is not the same everywhere."

Boro Vodopijevec: "The important thing, you see, is that we know that we can make mistakes. We might elect as party secretary a man who does not deserve it, who does not follow the party line, but there are ways to correct that. The drama affected me deeply--because it takes place in a workplace similar to mine, and also because I experienced similar things in the

work organization where I worked before. We have often been on the edge of stoppages, and now I hear that they recently did actually strike. My experience is that conflicts occur because in normal meetings, when the atmosphere is calm, people do not want to openly come into conflict with the managers or with any of those who are making mistakes, and that suits them."

SEDAM DANA: "Do you think that even today the professional managers in the collective have an opportunity to take revenge on the workers who speak out frankly? After all, their powers are essentially smaller than they once were, and there is the League of Communists, the trade union...."

Boro Vodopijevec: "Listen, they do not have the actual capability, but many of the workers do not know that, and they are afraid. For example, suppose some director tried to take revenge on me, he would not succeed. Precisely because of the trade union. Whatever I say--I cannot be called to account. No one can be punished because of what he says in a meeting."

SEDAM DANA: "Do you think that TV, radio and the press ... should show only typical cases of self-management or also cases of irresponsibility?"

Drago Horvatic: "I think that they should portray true events. Take this drama which we watched, it not only showed what happened, but also how to prevent that from happening in the future. In my opinion, it is not a bad thing to present such things to the public. The author is not an enemy of this country who would take a malicious line of thought or just fabricate it all. These things really do happen and they should be shown on TV."

Stjepan Mihinica: "I wonder where that trade union leader from the opstina was before. He came to 'Strojna' when the stoppage had already begun...."

Someone in the room: "That's what the workers in the drama themselves said!"

Stjepan Mihinica: "... he should have been there long before and prevented the stoppage. I am not in favor of work stoppages and I have always worked against them, this is the last resort for problems. Here you can see how ineffective our trade union leadership can sometimes be. I will not extend this to cover opstina committees, but even that happens. The workers are not at fault for the stoppage as shown on television."

Luka Anic: "I think that the showing of this drama will encourage at least some people to speak more frankly in meetings about the problems of production, housing, pay and abuses."

Directors Are Not at Fault for Everything

Mirko Bosnjak: "I must admit that it was not easy to make this drama. There was the danger of getting off the track, of taking an approach that

was altogether negative. We did not want to ask the question of whether we should have strikes; it was more important to us to show that we should do everything so that they do not occur. It is no one's aim to resolve problems through stoppages, but the fact remains that there are such examples in our country. All this you have already said, better than I can. Our drama does not arouse people to strike, and that is the essential thing. Our conversation with you has been valuable to us, since in the drama we wanted to show how progress could be made and how self-management could be developed still further. Even this conversation of ours today is an act of self-management."

Drago Horvatic: "Things are not always simple, nor is the director at fault for everything. Take, for example, this economic situation of ours. You may operate your business in excellent fashion, you may earn a large remainder of income, but you can't divide it up. We are people, consumers, the cost of living has risen greatly, it is human to want higher personal incomes. Yet here no one can help, neither the director, nor the party, nor the trade union. A force majeure is involved. Were I the director, I would not be able to say: Now, this is the income which remains, let's divide it up. I would have to think of the future, of the entire factory, of the community...."

Marijan Mateljic: "So long as we are well-informed, we will have to put things in their right places. We will know how to divide up the income, to whom to award apartments. If we know everything that is happening and the consequences that will come from business decision, no one will be able to abuse his authority or infringe our self-management rights. As for linkage with opstina and city sociopolitical organizations, I can say that they have excellent information. Though we are doing quite well, they are informed in detail about our problems. They do not behave like firemen."

Silvester Sirocic: "I will give an example from our work organization. I think that in this case we did not act properly. The workers were presented with the argument that we should invest in capital investment projects. We wanted to divide up at least a portion for personal incomes. We had to consent to everything being invested, but there was a great deal of money and there still is. Our funds were up to the brim, and we thought that something should have been divided up."

Marijan Silovic: "That is right, we did have a meeting like that after the income statement for the first three quarters. There was a large remainder of income. We were told that all our obligations had not yet been met, and we came to the conclusion that we should wait a bit. I said at the time that we should not adjourn the meeting until every worker had become convinced that this was the best solution. We must immediately clear up matters which are in dispute and not have conversations in the corridors afterward. It is easy to divide up the money, but it is difficult to think about the future."

Stjepan Mihinica: "A man would have to be a graduate economist to understand everything that is said about business policy. For example, we had a party meeting in which the director said, for example, that 2 million should be put in some business fund. Perhaps that really is necessary, but it is hard for me to understand."

SEDAM DANA: "But you have an information service, worker caucuses, delegates...."

Stjepan Mihinica: "Yes, we know about those most delicate issues. The allocation of housing, for example, personal incomes and such matters cannot go through without all the workers. But on the other hand I have no idea how Workers' Control is operating. I would like to go to some meeting of that control commission, since I really do not know how they operate and what they do. Or, say, the trade union nominates a worker for a commission, and the director says: He won't do. Often we overlook such 'trifles,' but we shouldn't. It would be better for the workers to say: No, that comrade cannot be a member of the commission...."

We Pay Our Debts First

Silvester Sirocic: "I am interested whether there has ever been a work stoppage in a bank, in an economic chamber, in an SIZ [community of interest]. There has been a lot of dust raised by this drama, and I would like to see a drama about those organizations. What do they do in crisis situations? Certainly the people there have no reason for a work stoppage such as people might have in production."

Mirko Bosnjak: "You have answered this question yourselves. The specialized services of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions which has studied work stoppages have not recorded even one work stoppage outside of production. This datum in and of itself says quite a bit. They are outside the crisis situations. I personally know about what I would call a half-stoppage of work in the Croatian National Theater in Zagreb, but even there it was the production workers, the auxiliary workers who were striking."

Josip Katalenic: "I would like to bring up something which we have not mentioned today. Our biggest problem is that little is left to us out of the income we earn. All the debts are paid, the SIZ's and the government and the opstinas and the sociopolitical organizations, and we strain ourselves very hard to discharge all those obligations which we still cannot scrutinize. How is it possible that some of our SIZ's and USIZ's [association of communities of interest] have a surplus running into the billions which they have to return to the economy, while some work organizations which have been carefully paying their contributions are paying 80 percent of regular personal incomes? I think that things have to some extent been put the wrong way about. Instead of first paying those who create the income, and thereafter everyone else, we first pay the rest. That is why the conflict situations arise, and people do not know too much about that. I would say that that is the prelude to the drama we have been talking about."

Josip Levacic: "Take an example: 2 years ago the Bank of Zagreb promised us that if we agreed to receive our pay through the bank, we would get 3 dinars of credit for every dinar we invested in housing construction. Under those conditions we agreed. Day after day they came to persuade us. We did not want to stand in line in the bank, but when they raised the housing issue. Do you know what happened? A year later their promise fell through. They tricked us. Thus we had to increase appropriations for housing construction 9 percent. And what are we to do now to this bank? Do we have to be suspicious of everyone? Does absolutely everyone want to deceive us?"

Drago Horvatic: "When we manage to keep the income where it is created, then there will be fewer such dramas, and the delegates in the Assembly will not have to put a query about the justifiability of showing a drama about a strike."

Instead of drawing some "big" conclusion after the lengthy conversation in the OOUR "Tool and Machine Production," of which we are publishing only one-tenth because of lack of space, we prefer to point up what the worker Drago Horvatic said: "When problems arise, we are inclined to set up commissions and put off a solution. But we ought to react immediately, on the spot, in the base, directly and openly. If we behave that way, there will not be any 'Stoppage in Strojna,' nor in our factory either."

7045
CSO: 2800

VOJVODINA CONSTITUTIONAL COURT CHIEF JUSTICE INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1560, 23 Nov 80 pp 12-13

[Interview with Dr Nikola Balog, chief justice of the Vojvodina Constitutional Court, by Jug Grizelj: "It Is Practice Which Is Violating the Constitution, Not Enactments"]

[Text] The Vojvodina Constitutional Court, which is headed by Dr Nikola Balog, a prestigious legal expert, university professor and participant in authoring many of our constitutional changes, is also well known by our public for having reacted sharply on several occasions to various violations of the constitution, consistently taking the position that no one has the right either to restrict or to take away the freedoms and human rights guaranteed by the constitution.

[Question] It is in this connection that NIN, as part of its survey on consensus (zajednistvo) and on functional consensus at the federal level, was interested in ascertaining to what extent our constitutional courts have stood up for consensus, and above all the constitutional provisions concerning the unity of the Yugoslav market, in the face of obvious manifestations of its being closed off and partialized. Are there in Dr Balog's opinion federal or republic laws, and also opstina enactments which have favored partialization and autarky?

[Answer] Probably there are federal laws which we might say are "indifferent" to the partialization of the unified Yugoslav market. To be sure, guaranteeing the unity of the market is stated in every such law between the lines [sic]. That is, in these laws and enactments one can hardly descry an impediment to the unity of the market from the standpoint of constitutional law. I must concur in the judgment that the constitutional courts ought to be showing much more initiative concerning the obvious cases of confinement of the market; that this is the case is confirmed by the fact that soon all the constitutional courts of Yugoslavia will hold a meeting whose topic will be protection of the unity of the Yugoslav market. The problem, however, obviously lies in the fact that general enactments ordinarily do not threaten either the constitution or consensus. It is

threatened by practice, and that is above all a political issue, one which can be resolved only by delegate assemblies from the opstina to the Federation. The constitutional court is no substitute for politics. The constitutional court protects the constitution.

[Question] It is a fact, however, Comrade Chief Justice, that as a party member, a judge, a person active in public life and as an individual you frequently encounter specific cases when the unity of the market is being violated. What is the job of a judge of a constitutional court in such a case?

[Answer] You know, you obviously have a mistaken idea about the function of the constitutional courts. It is well known that the constitution affirms the responsibility of the executive councils of the Federation, the republics, the provinces and opstinas with respect to the condition of the economy and public services in their jurisdictions. When you see, say, two department stores on the border of two opstinas or two republics, and when you notice that the goods in them are altogether different, from different manufacturers, when you see that each department store is primarily selling the products "of its own area," you can be altogether certain that there is not a single general enactment, neither at the opstina nor republic level, which condones or encourages this. You can be certain that this practice of partialization and confinement of the market is a consequence of internal accords and agreements which are not in the spirit of either self-management or the constitution. However, since the constitutional courts, unless they are directly called upon and set into motion, are unable to even scrutinize these accords and agreements which are not made public, it is a logical assumption that this is a matter of practical politics, that responsibility for this situation lies in the field of politics.

[Question] As far as we know, there is not a single federal system in the world like that of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which sovereign republics and autonomous provinces render decisions on the principle of concurrence and consensus of all the sovereign partners in very important domains of domestic policy defined by the constitution. It is our feeling that this original feature of our constitutional arrangements for consensus is one of the characteristics which is not sufficiently familiar to the public.

[Answer] It is a fact that our constitutional principle of the sovereignty of the republics, which constitute government communities and which on issues of the economic system of common interest must enter into agreement and must obtain consensus at the level of the Federation, is a pioneering undertaking which has no precedent in the practice of federal systems in the world. However, at this level of development and with what we had learned there was a natural need for Yugoslavia to use the constitution to place even economic sovereignty in the republics.

Looking at the world around us and studying our own history, we should have understood that failure to respect the peculiar features of the nationalities and the rights of the nationalities actually constitutes an expropriation of those nationalities. Failure to recognize the sovereignty of the nationalities in a multinational community must result in irresponsible acts and even explosions. One can see this line of thinking even in many states in which there is only one nationality when they are reflecting about far-reaching political reforms toward granting broader rights to communities and regions at the lower level. This is an unusual thing, especially when we recall that a few decades ago we all believed that the all-inclusiveness of world economic events and the trends of civilization in general were gradually diminishing the importance of ethnic communities and nationalities.

It has been established, however, that the "trend" is quite contrary to those expectations. Opposite movements have been noted, it is true, but by gradually superseding the economic interests of nationalities, that is, on the basis of their own interests. Throughout the entire world, and indeed with us as well, it has become quite clear that true consensus can be obtained only by way of equality of nationalities. Of course, when it comes to practical solutions as to how from the standpoint of constitutional law the reconciliation is to be made effective both in time and content, there can and must be discussion. We have the State Presidency, which under the constitution has exceptional rights to take steps if consensus is not achieved (Article 319 of the constitution).

In this phase it would be difficult to do without the general premises of this kind, and only future development will show to what extent all the constitutional mechanisms of reconciliation--without jeopardizing the principle of sovereignty--are feasible and practical. Life "takes place" much faster than the constitutional imagination supposes, but this is a matter of time. It is true that we often forget that time is the most expensive thing in the world.

[Question] You mentioned that the constitution precisely regulates the rights of delegate bodies in the jurisdictions of executive bodies and offices. However, in interviews with all our previous participants in the survey on consensus, we have arrived at the "reconciled" and "joint" opinion that we are in a phase when executive bodies and offices are taking over many more rights than they are entitled to under the constitution and that delegate assemblies are in many cases not operating effectively enough. How do you see this from the standpoint of "defenders" of the constitution?

[Answer] You know, much is said about the delegates not being "effective" enough, about their being "passive," about their inadequate display of "interest," and so on. Certainly, this is one part of the problem, but it is by far the smaller and less important part. See here, whenever something doesn't work, the easiest thing is to say that it is human error. However,

there is also something called the intelligence of the system. I am personally persuaded that there are certain serious objective obstacles that keep the delegate system--through the existing mechanisms--from operating better.

[Question] If the delegate system needs to be improved, don't you feel that the need for public scrutiny of proceedings ought to be emphasized still more in constitutional terms?

[Answer] In that domain, public scrutiny of proceedings, I see no need at all for any sort of touching up. The constitution is sufficiently clear, and it simply does not permit proceedings in secret. It precisely states in what cases a conversation can take place or a decision be made in private. Exclusion of the public is something altogether exceptional as far as the constitution is concerned!

It is just a question of how public scrutiny of proceedings is seen; is it public scrutiny of proceedings when the public is informed of the results and of the decisions, or do you report the course of discussion and all the opinions expressed during the process of reconciliation? Here again there are many short circuits as to how the constitution is to be interpreted. It is like the old saying: In my house there is no question that I settle the big issues and my wife the little ones. But my wife decides what is a big issue and what is a little one. This is the same. Public scrutiny is set forth in the constitution as an obligation of all bodies, but, of course, it is the assembly or, still more frequently, some executive body or office who decides what public scrutiny is and how that public scrutiny is to be exercised. I am certain that here there is room for very serious discussions and criticism. Often, you know, when a man reads a newspaper article or sees a television report about all the things on which there is not consensus and about all the agreements which have not been reached, he has the feeling that this is an appeal for resentment. People say: The foreign exchange balance has not been adopted, there is no energy policy, and now I the citizen am standing and waiting, and no one has told me what the disputes are about, what the alternatives are, and consequently I do not have either the theoretical or the practical opportunity to influence the taking of decisions through my delegate base.

I am convinced that this kind of reporting and this kind of conception of public scrutiny only makes people more nervous, but does not arouse that activity on the part of the delegate base which the constitution and our system presuppose. You can't appeal to people constantly to be more active if that activity consists only of waiting or of throwing up their hands, without an exchange of opinions, without an opportunity exert an influence on the agreements.

We have brought the delegate base almost to the point where it must have confidence in its delegate assembly, since it neither knows its views, nor does it influence them. And this is not the delegate system: confidence

is the principle on which the representative system is based, but the delegate system presupposes that the base issues the working instructions and guidelines. Much the same is true of many relations, and thus we get a system which consists of laws which may be scoffed at, and there are no worse laws than those which at times are not respected.

[Question] Do you think that the constitutional courts are often the captives of disputes of secondary importance, such as, for example, the question of the constitutionality of the "odd-even" decision, or the "spider" and "handcuffs" [all related to recent motor vehicle regulations--translator's note], while many important trains are passing by?

[Answer] I must resolutely resist a division of subject matter of the constitutional courts into matters of first importance and second importance. I think that it is of essential importance to man's freedom, to his rights as guaranteed under the constitution, that he defend himself against usurpation of whatever kind. So, when a worker comes to the constitutional court because his right to an apartment or remuneration has been threatened, or the right to regulate traffic under the constitution and laws and his rights in that traffic, then I think that the constitutional court is truly the place where human freedoms will be defended.

Aside from that, the constitutional courts are concerned more and more with the key questions of the socioeconomic system, and there is obviously a misunderstanding because the public believes that it is the job of the constitutional court to be concerned with politics. No. The constitutional court cannot have an impact on the pooling of labor and capital, but it must intervene when labor and capital are pooled through manipulation, unlawfully, when lawful procedure is not respected. Finally, Comrade Editor, it really is too much to expect of an institution in the self-management system--since the constitutional court is only one of a number of institutions in that system--to bring into line all people involved in the conduct of economic activity concerning the most important issues of the self-management system; it is expecting too much of the constitutional court that it can ensure the free movement of manpower, the openness of the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] and of all others, that it can overcome the problem of excessive investments, that it can achieve abandonment of sacroegoism in associated labor, and so on.

It really is unrealistic to expect that the constitutional courts can do what the assemblies of sociopolitical communities with their influence and rights, as well as obligations, the Socialist Alliance, the Youth League, and even the League of Communists have been unable to do on their own. Only if all together, and each separately, does its part of the job and discharges its part of the responsibility, will the conditions be fulfilled for the constitutional court to do its job properly.

[Question] We have not heard of the constitutional courts dealing with the issues of the obvious overstepping of authority by various executive bodies and offices in our society.

[Answer] This is an area we have not yet reached, and it is presumably an issue of first importance. Of course, the constitutional courts can take the initiatives even on their own in obvious cases, but is it not symptomatic that neither the trade union nor the economic chambers have come before the court at some point to seek protection of the workers and of associated labor against the usurpation of executive bodies and offices? And this is not only their constitutional right, but indeed their constitutional obligation.

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SECONDARY SCHOOLERS STRIKE OVER DISMISSAL OF TEACHER

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1559, 16 Nov 80 pp 28-29

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Pedagogical Poem"]

[Text] From last Tuesday until this Monday, four working days, half of the students in Class IV2 [high school seniors--translator's note] in what used to be Academic High School 14 in Belgrade went on strike by boycotting classes. The other half continued to go to school. The immediate pretext was the decision of the school's disciplinary commission to discharge their homeroom teacher V. K., a sociology teacher, "for failure to discharge work duties."

V. K. is 35 years old, he is not married, he lives with his mother, and he has been teaching for some 10 years now. He is a coach in amateur sports. In the school he has in the past been president of the trade union, president of the faculty caucus, and chairman of the activ of the social sciences. Two years ago he received the May Award for his work in athletics, and the assembly of the opstina in which he lives nominated him for a decoration, which the school council supported.

To most of the students he taught he was "different from the others, an authentic new teacher." They say that he would never spring a test on them. He abided by the system: 2 weeks of lectures--1 week of tests. He regularly freshened up his lectures with the most recent events and data from the press and the literature. Last year he became the homeroom teacher of Class III2 [a junior class]. At the end of the school year in that class of 39 students (34 girls and 5 boys) there were 35 A's, 3 B's and only 1 C.

On the teacher's initiative they published three issues of their own class newspaper, which was received in the school as a case of "separatism," and the paper died out. Since there were no textbooks, the professor wrote a very good and interesting set of notes for his pupils. For years the school has not been awarding prizes to excellent students; this teacher bought books for his students himself and used them to reward them for success. This homeroom teacher knew the birthday of every student and on that

day the student would find a flower or small gift at his place. He took the entire class to participate in the POLITIKA cross-country race and to the book fair. Here and there in the city they regularly attended lectures in sociology, psychology and philosophy. He arranged the desks in their classroom in a horseshoe "so that people would look each other in the face and not at the back of each other's heads"--this also was short-lived, since the other teachers objected. He often talked with parents even about family problems, so that for him there were no secrets in his III2.

The Parents and the Teacher

Last year a well-known professor at Belgrade University, aroused by the questions of his daughter, whom V. K. teaches in a senior class of "The Constitution and Social System," became interested in the lectures of his younger colleague and--as he has now told NIN--he concluded that there were in his interpretations quite a few aspects of political ideology that were seriously unclear or mistaken. In a meeting with parents the university professor called the attention of his daughter's homeroom teacher to the possible consequences. He also repeated his opinion at the request of the principal before the school administration, before a group of parents in a meeting held in the headquarters of the Vracar Opstina Conference of the League of Communists, in whose jurisdiction the school is located, and before V. K. himself. Thus the discussions of the teacher's errors began back last year, but the real denouement occurred in September, when disciplinary proceedings were instituted against him.

On 17 October the disciplinary commission examined some 20 pupils and several witnesses who graduated the year before. The questions were as follows:

> Were there deviations in matters of political ideology in V. K.'s lectures; did he say that intellectuals should not live in the same buildings with workers and peasants, since "the former raise flowers on their balconies, and the latter chickens"; did he say that people whistle at soccer games out of protest against everything that is weighing them down, and "sometimes even against the system"; did he say that in Yugoslavia there were major economic and cultural differences among the republics and provinces, and did he maliciously interpret those differences; in mentioning the events in 1968--though they are not in the syllabus--did he say that there were "dead and wounded" among the students; in his lecture on the Cominform did he use extracurricular literature which is not allowed--a feature article published in NIN; did he analyze the handwriting of the students during class out of a passion for handwriting analysis; did he mention Goli Otok [concentration camp for supporters of the Cominform--translator's note]; did

he say that he would not go to see the films "Neretva" and "Sutjeska"...?

An affirmative answer to some of these questions would fall in the jurisdiction of the public prosecutor. However, even the students who in the previous meetings in the school had felt that "V. K. had erred," did not give direct answers of yes to these questions!

The "Office Rat"

Most of the witnesses felt that there were in his lectures certain words which could "be taken two ways," but they were not inclined to think that they amounted to deviations in political ideology. "As for the flowers and chickens on the balconies," they said that the teacher cited this as an example from his own neighborhood in New Belgrade. It was confirmed that he did speak about soccer spectators "venting their feelings," but in the opinion of the majority he did not emphasize that he was talking about Yugoslav soccer. They all agreed that he spoke about differences in level of development of the various regions of our country, and some added that he said: And so, that is also socialism. A majority even remember the "victims of 1968," but the teacher and other witnesses say that in the lecture he explicitly stated that "foreign sources maliciously wrote about supposed casualties." He did in fact mention Goli Otok, but, according to the statements, this was in response to a pupil's question: "What is Goli Otok, which is constantly mentioned in connection with the Cominform?"

One of the former pupils said: "I do not remember what he said about social differences, but he told me in a class that I would become an office rat, and I have never forgiven him for that."

In a meeting of the organization of the League of Communists, which discussed the "teacher's case," V. K., who attended the meeting though not a member of the League of Communists, did not choose to defend himself, but merely read a passage from Plato's "Apology."

Following the discussions came the conclusion of the sociopolitical organizations in the school that "the teacher V. K. is not suitable for the job." Then the disciplinary commission met seven times and stated that "the teacher V. K. has committed serious violations of nonperformance and negligent performance of work tasks and has pronounced the measure of termination of the employment relation."

Though throughout the entire proceeding the most serious criticism had to do with political ideology, all of a sudden nonperformance of work tasks turns up in the justification. Throughout the entire proceeding there was less evidence for this formulation than for anything else. Only his coming late to class was irrefutably established, which again is not a persuasive reason for firing him. By all appearances it seems the school regulations envisage penalties for teachers who fight on the job or come to work drunk,

but no provision is made for ideological deviation in instruction. And that is the origin of the formulation--nonperformance of work duties.

V. K. says that he is the victim of a "typical settlement of accounts within the faculty, since most of the witnesses for the prosecution come from a class whose homeroom teacher is his enemy." In that school, it seems, a war has been going on, and in that war the teachers have been using their own students as clubs.

The Other Side

On Wednesday the decision expelling the teacher from the school was read out to the students, but 20 students of his class had already left classes the day before, on Tuesday. Someone had told them about the decision of the disciplinary commission.

At precisely noon on Friday, the fourth day of the "work stoppage," the school even released the "strikebreakers" from classes in order to attend a meeting that was scheduled between the "strikers" and their homeroom teacher V. K. The meeting began in front of Hotel Jugoslavija, but because of the cold it moved into the large dining room of the hotel, where some 40 students, who ordered 4 teas and 3 coffees, debated for almost 2 hours. No agreement was reached: both sides said that they were right. But what was said cast a new light on the admired professor and the events in the school.

According to what was said on that occasion, V. K. publicly--in a parents' meeting--divided up the students in his class in four value categories and wrote their names on the board. Only the pupils in the first category were "independent and mature"; the pupils in the fourth category and their parents were not pleased. He had the practice of holding frequent two-person meetings lasting several hours with his pupils, "psychoseances" as the students called them, though in actuality they consisted of his monolog on the topic "How I See You and Your Behavior and What You Really Should Do About It." Since he said in one meeting with the parents that he learned quite a bit about the character of his children by means of handwriting analysis, one parent reminded him of a more traditional method of reading coffee grounds. He told the mother of one girl that his analysis of her daughter's personality and behavior unambiguously indicated that she was quite close to the point of suicide. He organized a poll on smoking, and regular consumers of nicotine lost points with him. He didn't like "his" pupils to fraternize with other students, since he said that his were "something special, the best class in the country." Some of his pupils openly said that he was involved in the removal and drafting of a petition against a teacher of the Serbo-Croatian language and that with his knowledge and to some extent at his suggestion half of the students boycotted this year's traditional senior trip.

Those who did not attend school for 4 days were mainly pupils who previously never or very rarely skipped classes. The students who continued to attend school charged that V. K. had recruited students for the strike who were devoted to him and whom he could influence. One of the girls who did not boycott classes said in a state of great excitement:

"Sir, here is my girl friend who sits next to me and who did not come to school, and now she won't look me in the eye, since supposedly I betrayed our cause. Why didn't you tell them: Attend class, help me in some other way? Why did you meet with them at a time when they should have been in school? No one in the class was against you, but I think you have abused our confidence. We are not your private pupils. Half of the parents do not even know that our fellow students are not going to school. Vesna even left home, because her parents ordered her to go to class."

Had a man who obviously loved his class and who in a way devoted his entire time "to teaching the children to look critically at things around them and at authorities" turned into a virtual monitor of the private and public life of his students, of their society, of their desires, intervening in impermissible ways, making measurements, making judgments in public...?

In concluding this painful tale it is not easy to judge whether we are dealing with a conflict between an enthusiastic modern teacher and a conventional or conservative school or a conflict between the normal and inevitable way a school is run and the arbitrary and very personal behavior on the part of a teacher, or again a case of political abuse of the classroom, which has been mentioned in this article--but which has not been altogether proven--or of a bit of everything.

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ATHLETIC FESTIVAL OF ARMAMENT INDUSTRY WORKERS DESCRIBED

Belgrade ZUM REPORTER in Serbo-Croatian No 751, 16 Oct 80 pp 16-17

[Article by Z. Simic: "Competition Yes, Rivalry No"]

[Text] ... "Strive, comrades, to continue bold progress in the future as well, strive to impart as much comradeship as possible to athletics, and try to achieve the best results you can in comradely competition"--Tito, July 1951.

Mindful of these words of Tito, uttered 4 years ago in Kragujevac, at a festival devoted to athletics, recreation and entertainment workers of the entire country's armament industry decided to call it the Comradeship Meets. The very next year the host city Cacak demonstrated that the meets would grow to become a major traditional festival of sports, brotherhood and unity and nourishment of the glorious traditions of Yugoslavia's revolution and socialist development. Workers of the community of Yugoslavia's industry of armament and military equipment (INVOJ) demonstrated last year in Novi Travnik that they are not forging only the weapons of nationwide defense and peace, but also the greatest virtues of our contemporary social development through athletic competitions and the accompanying events.

Gorazde, this year's host to the sportsmen from factory shops, was equal to this year's festival, the largest to date (32 work organizations from all over Yugoslavia) and proved itself to be a true comrade, friend and unselfish host. This picturesque little town on the bank of the Drina, its citizens and its workers employed in Pobjeda demonstrated with their wide open arms that Yugoslavia can be fitted even into a small place without losing any of its great revolutionary achievements--community spirit, brotherhood and unity, self-sacrifice, concord and the spirit of comradeship--all this was manifested through athletics and competition....

"Competition yes, rivalry no!"--was the motto of the festival. The results were secondary, but for the sake of physical education and athletics, we will mention how certain of the teams did. We stress that lively people whose minds are healthy and who are physically prepared for further

development and accomplishment of the conception of nationwide defense are working in the armament industry and that athletics is one of the forms of their readiness to defend the country.

Losing Is Not Important

The best results for the teams were achieved by the competitors from Sloboda. Secone was Rudi Cajavec, and third Zastava. The workers of Milan Blagojevic were proclaimed the fair play team.

Though the best marksman was Radovan Bozovic of Sloboda (179 bull's-eyes), the "invincible five" from Zastava--Milan Dimitrijevic, Milorad Vuckovic, Zivan Stepanovic, Milan Milanovic and Miroljub Simovic--demonstrated for the fourth time that they were the best rifle team at the festival. We must mention that they are also the best forgers of automatic infantry weapons in our country, weapons which are highly prized in the world as well....

Milan Lukovic brought Teleoptika the cup for the 2,000-meter run, and Prva Petoletka dominated the chess tournament. Sloboda's bowlers celebrated their first place with fish specialties which their colleagues from the factory prepared after winning the festival's first sport fishing contest on the Drina.

Krusik's volleyballers won another cup for the factory's display case, and Telekomunikacije was given that same satisfaction by the members of its team of the fairer sex....

There were other successes in all eight disciplines, but enumerations of details would be unnecessary, since at the Comradeship Meets athletics are only the pretext for people to come together. Here is a passage from the Rules of the Comradeship Meets Among Members of the Community INVOJ, one which unambiguously demonstrates the objectives of this fine festival:

"The Comradeship Meets are a traditional sports festival whose purpose is to bring together as many as possible of the workers employed in organizations of associated labor which are members of the Community of INVOJ to get to know one another and to come closer to one another, to nurture the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, to exchange opinions and experiences, and to develop physical education and recreation in order to improve health and work abilities, to raise labor productivity and to improve fitness for performance of work duties and combat readiness...."

Young people from all over Yugoslavia have altogether understood the purpose of this traditional event, which was put most simply by Raifa Hurem of the Slobodan Princip-Seljo Factory:

"It is the first time I have attended a festival like this, and I am enthusiastic. My team lost in its very first match, but that is not important. The most important thing is that I have made friends. The people from Gorazde have been very hospitable...."

"The oversights of the organizers are negligible compared to the way a man feels in this atmosphere," we were told by Janez Cevc of the electronic communications department of Iskra. "We came here to meet old acquaintances and to make new friends."

"This is the third time I have participated in the meets," said Radovan Bozovic of Sloboda. "It is an unforgettable event. It is surprising how many people there are. What do scores matter compared to so many new friends?"

Comradeship and Solidarity

Whether they lost or won in the athletic competition, the young people from all parts of Yugoslavia did not stop smiling in Gorazde. The cheerfulness typical of our young people (the older participants and guests will please not be angry if we do not mention them separately, since we included them among "our young people") proved to be the best recommendation for the hospitable people of Gorazde, who have always been partial to gaiety, jokes, songs and friendship. That is why Janez Cevc's enthusiasm is altogether comprehensible to the citizens of Gorazde:

"Our team was housed in a private home. We were all more than satisfied with the hospitality and kindness of our hosts. This was a unique occasion to get to know one another better, to see how people live. We felt as though we were at home...."

It is precisely impressions of this kind which Gen Lt Col Petar Babic had in mind when he said in his opening address at the festival:

"Dear competitors, I hope you achieve good scores and achieve the desires you came here with. Our greatest desire is that you always remember that you have a mission and a far broader task, and that is to nurture comradeship and solidarity, through a spirit of competition to develop new friendship and comradeship which will help all of us to carry out our principal task in equipping our armed forces with armament and military equipment.

"The Comradeship Meets should also make use of the experiences of our National Liberation Struggle, when under the most difficult conditions of the war, in this very vicinity, and on this very terrain the First Partisan Olympic Games were organized in Foca and through them brotherhood and unity was forged and the combat morale of our units and their relations with the people were improved...."

Gen Lt Col Petar Babic did not conceal his satisfaction during the festival, and his summary at the conclusion of this large and successful festival for bringing young people together from all regions of Yugoslavia will greatly ease this author's task in "summing up" this "amalgam of athletics, of love for people, of entertainment and of a nurturing of revolutionary traditions."

"To put it most briefly, the comradeship games in Gorazde have been entirely successful," were the words of Gen Lt Col Babic, a revolutionary who at the age of the competitors in the festival at Gorazde was participating in "games of a different kind."

"It is truly gratifying to me when I see that among the workers of our community there are so many athletes. At the same time we should not especially emphasize what this festival means to us. It is evident that it is good even down on the field. People are coming closer together, becoming friends, exchanging experiences.... And in general athletics and recreation keep a man fit, and make him better able to work. I see that all the participants are happy with both the hospitality and the kindness of the people of Gorazde. Here again our games have been highly esteemed and their existence has been confirmed. Certainly, this is an impetus for us to nurture them further. Modestly, within the limits of our capabilities, but sufficiently so that the objective will always be achieved: to develop a spirit of athletics in our collectives, so that we have young and healthy workers who are in very good physical condition. This is also a condition for our successful work in the future."

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